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# WEEKLY PEOPLE

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## CHICAGO CONVENTION

### ADJOURNS WITH THREE CHEERS AND A TIGER FOR "THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD", CALLED FOR BY CHAIRMAN WM. D. HAYWOOD

(Continued from last week.)

#### EIGHTH DAY'S SESSION TAKEN UP WITH THE COATES' AMENDMENT DESTROYING THE PRINCIPLE OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

If Adopted It Would Leave New Organization in the Old Rut of National Craft Autonomy and Jurisdiction Wrangles—Coates Committee on Ratification Meeting Forced to Resign Because of Petty Spirit Displayed in Arranging List of Speakers—Debs and De Leon to Be Principal Speakers—Debs Desired to Appear on Same Platform with De Leon—Discussion on Coates Amendment on at Hour of Adjournment.

##### Eighth Day.

Chicago, Ill., July 5.—To-day's session of The Industrial Workers of the world was almost entirely taken up with a long debate on the Coates' Amendment, which, if adopted, would destroy the principle of Industrial Unionism and leave the organization in the old rut of national craft autonomy and jurisdiction wrangles.

In the morning, after roll call and minutes, the Coates' committee (appointed by him while in the chair) to look after ratification meeting, reported that four of its members had agreed that the meeting should be held in Brand's Hall Friday night. The committee omitted to give the names of the speakers, although they had given them to capitalist reporters the night before and the list had to be drawn out of them by direct questioning. It appears the committee cut out De Leon, Haggerty and Trautmann on the pretext that the first two are intellectuals, the time would be too short for many speakers, and besides Debs would represent the Socialistic element, while Coates, Sherman and Moyer would represent the union organizations. Charles Klehn of the Hoboken Longshoremen, moved that the names of De Leon, Haggerty, Haywood and Trautmann be added to the list. Guy Miller opposed this by urging lack of time and that speakers against whom there may be any prejudice should, to save a wrangle, be left out. Haggerty desired to have his name left off, but declared that committee were not on the big end of the wrangle, and that the action was a slur to the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, and if any one had stood uncompromisingly for Industrial Unionism it was De Leon and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, and we owe much to them. Haggerty also stated that Debs had told him that he (Debs) desired to appear at such meeting on the same platform with De Leon.

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Haggerty, of Butte, Montana, also advocated placing the names on McDonald of Coates' committee, opposed on ground of time. Haywood and Moyer announced they would not likely be in town Friday night. The convention then voted to have De Leon and Trautmann added to list of speakers. Apparently smarting under this rebuke for petty spirit displayed, the four members of the Coates' committee, Miller, Bradley, McDonald and Cranston, just before the noon adjournment, asked leave to resign from it, which was cheerfully granted and chairman instructed to fill their places.

On reassembling, the discussion on the Coates' amendment was renewed and taken part in by more delegates than any other proposition so far debated. The argument of Coates in favor of contention for National Craft Unions, under guise of industrial, was on substantially the same lines he used to indulge in ten years ago, when he did not claim to be a Socialist, but merely a pure and simple, resting on his stock basic statement that his economics are as sound as anybody's else. Once, in reiterating the boast, Coates said "I will match my soundness on economics with that of anyone here, even Mr. De Leon."

When hour to adjourn arrived Coates was in the midst of a long summing up of his position.

A telegram from the Convention of the Socialist Labor Party at Pittsburg, Pa., was received, sending greeting to the Industrial Workers of the World.

#### NINTH DAY'S SESSION WITNESSES THE COLLAPSE OF COATES' REACTIONARY AMENDMENT IN BEHALF OF CRAFT AUTONOMY.

An Eventful, Not to Say Exciting Day, Unionism Was Given Several Solar P Meetings Drafts New List of Speaker—Debs, De Leon, Haywood, Sherman, Haggerty—O'Neill, Chairman.

##### Ninth Day.

Chicago, July 6.—To-day's session was an eventful, interesting, not to say exciting one at the convention of The Industrial Workers of the World. The incident of the day was the complete collapse of the little reactionary group led by David C. Coates, which had been using obstruction tactics. After the starting of the morning session the chairman announced the names of the new members of the committee to look after ratification meeting, which while now consists of O. M. Held, M. E. White, Mrs. Forberg, S. J. French and Carl U. Starkenberg. This committee later prepared a list of speakers as follows: E. V. Debs, Daniel De Leon, Wm. Haywood, Thos. J. Haggerty, C. O. Sherman and Wm. E. Trautmann, and for chairman, John O'Neill. This was adopted and the committee at once got out circulars and arranged for the meeting.

Communication from Local 29, Milwaukee Brewers, donating \$25 toward stenographic report, was received and endorsed.

Then, Coates resumed the clog of the debate on his amendment to section 3 of Article 1 of proposed constitution. Coates opened with a neat little story about how a reporter on a daily paper, closely connected with labor circles and an ardent member of the A. F. of L., and supporter of Gompers, had said to him last night, "Coates, I know you are right, but I hope your amendment will be defeated for if it is not it will mean the building up of a powerful organization and the disintegration of the A. F. of L., while if it is defeated the new organization will be doomed to complete failure." This clever attempt at influencing the convention failed of its purpose as the final vote showed.

Coates, in claiming that his proposal would make the organization conform to industrial conditions as he conceived them, at one point declared that if it is not so made he, "Will lead a movement or rather join in a movement to set up one that will conform."

He dodged pointed questions on possibility of jurisdiction wrangles under pretext that organizations would settle these things themselves. The amendment was defeated by a vote of 39,540 1/2 to 11,923 1/2. Motion to refer was lost by 27,175 to 20,759.

At the opening of the afternoon session a substitute was offered by Secretary Trautmann, slightly altering the wording of the clause. Trautmann's substitute reads as follows: "The organization shall consist of thirteen industrial divisions subdivided into industrial unions of closely related industries in the appropriate organizations for representation in the departmental administration."

At this stage Coates made a motion to the effect that the constitution committee be discharged and a new one elected that would draw up a document more in conformity with his national craft union idea. Chairman Haywood refused to entertain the motion on the ground that method of electing would mean practically the same men. Coates appealed from decision and what with incidental wrangles, and delay ensuing from roll call, much valuable time was consumed as result of these obstructive tactics. The decision of the chair was upheld by vote of 25,710 to 22,473. The increased size of the minority vote, temporarily raised high the hopes of Ex-

Lieutenant Governor Coates, "A. M. Simons, Editor," and the little group of friends, that it would grow big enough to enable them to capture the convention and commit new organization to a reactionary program—which made poor Humpty-Dumpty's tumble all the more humiliating when it came.

When Haywood, seeing that the convention was tiring of the obstructionist's continual cry for roll call, attempted to put the section as amended by Trautmann, to a viva voce vote, Coates again demanded the roll call. Here Powers of Providence, demanded of Coates whether the object of the roll call was to consume the time of the convention; if so, he Powers, was ready to stay right there for a year. Roll call was finally taken at 3 p. m., "A. M. Simons, Editor," refusing to vote. Section was adopted as amended by vote of 39,172 to 12,061, and Mr. Coates having after nearly two days of obstruction, discovered the temper of the convention collapsed completely and refused to any longer vote in the convention.

#### WORK OF TENTH DAY PLACES NEW ORGANIZATION SQUARELY UPON A SOLID FOUNDATION.

Spirit of Optimism Prevails Among the Delegates—Feature of Day, Adoption of Report of Committee on Constitution by An Almost Unanimous Vote—Recommendation Providing for the Election of A Provisional General Executive Board, Also Adopted—Ratification in the Evening—Convention Likely to End Saturday Noon.

##### Tenth Day.

Chicago, July 7.—The good work accomplished to-day at the convention of Industrial Workers of the World has placed the new organization squarely upon a solid foundation and the spirit of optimism prevails among the delegates.

The feature of the day was the adoption of the report of the committee on constitution. The committee had been considering and revising the remainder of the constitution and presented its report signed by its members, including Sherman, De Leon, Moyer, Haggerty and others. When the document was read the general sentiment in favor of the adoption of the constitution as a whole was such that the last clause was reached in a short time. A few there were who seemed not to quite catch the import of some of the sections, but the convention was satisfied. A roll call was taken on the adoption of the constitution as whole which resulted in a vote of 42,714 for and 6,995 against. The Western Federation of Miners, with 29,000 votes, voted solid for adoption, as did the delegates

After all the time was well spent that thus proved to any reactionary element that the revolutionary workers engaged in launching the new organization could not be side tracked.

Before adjournment a considerable portion of the constitution was adopted including that relating to revenues which provides that none shall be used for sick, death, or coffin attachments.

Your correspondent would like to believe Coates honest in intention, but cannot help remarking that had Gompers or Belmont sent a special emissary he could not have done any more to hamper the work of the convention.

Coates' conduct caused a run on "Behind the Scenes" on page 44 of which is the letter of Teller and Dorsey asking headquarters for a railroad pass for ex-Gov. Coates, to be credited to the legal department. All the copies the local comrades had were sold and the demand remained unsatisfied.

The remainder of the work will likely be finished without much delay.

of the United Brotherhood of Railroad Employes, the Metal Workers, and the S. T. & L. A. Of the ten delegates of the American Labor Union, four only, D. McDonald, D. C. Coates, H. S. Davis and F. W. Cronin, having 1,672 votes each, voted against, all the others favoring.

Some recommendations of the constitution committee were also adopted, among them being a proposition that a provisional general executive board be elected by the convention, to consist of seven members, inclusive of president and secretary-treasurer. Also that the general officers be located at same place as the general headquarters.

Label committee reported device for universal label and matter of device was referred to incoming General Executive Board.

Among the communications received to-day was one of greeting from the Sixteenth Assembly District, New York, Socialist Labor Party.

To-night the big ratification meeting will be held. The convention, will most likely, finish its work to-morrow noon.

(Continued on page 3.)

#### THE CHICAGO STENOGRAPHIC REPORT.

The Chicago Convention, the First Annual Convention of the "Industrial Workers of the World" has finished its work and adjourned. Far-reaching effects will doubtless prove this convention to have been a most important event in the history of the labor movement of America.

In the debates that took place in the Convention, the essential and distinctive features of Industrial Unionism, as distinguished from pure and simple craft unionism, were brought out powerfully and clearly. Often in the future will the words of delegates, spoken in that convention, be quoted, and equally often will the conclusions of the body be referred to.

The stenographic report of the proceedings of the "Chicago Convention" will be an invaluable historic document. We have arranged to have it published in the Daily People. \$295.35 have been received as contributions to the "Chicago Stenographic Fund" to pay for the transcript; but since the convention did not decide to bear any part of the cost of it, as we believed it would, this amount is still insufficient. We therefore urge supporters of The People to continue contributions to this fund.

A little time will intervene before the report can be transcribed. In the meantime every one wishing to have it should send in his subscription. The subscription prices of the Daily People are: six months, \$2; three months, \$1; one month, \$1; one year \$3.50. Instruct us to begin your subscription with the report, if you so desire.

Address, Daily People, 2, 4 & 6 New Reade street, New York.

##### DE LEON IN ROCHESTER.

Daniel De Leon, of New York City, editor of the Daily and Weekly People and delegate to the Chicago Convention of Industrial Workers of the World, will deliver an address under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party at Macabbee Hall, Main street west, corner of Plymouth avenue, Monday, July 24, at 8 p. m. Readers, sympathizers and friends are invited. Admission ten cents.

##### DE LEON IN ST. LOUIS.

St. Louis, Mo., Attention: Daniel De Leon will lecture at a mass meeting to be held under the auspices of Section St. Louis, Socialist Labor Party, at Concordia Turner Hall, Thirteenth and Arsenal streets, Friday, July 14, 8 p. m.

As Comrade De Leon is coming to St. Louis from the Chicago Industrial Union Convention we urgently request that all readers of the Daily and Weekly People attend this meeting, and bring friends. Don't fail to come and help make this meeting a success.

An admission fee of 10 cents will be charged. Ladies free.

##### DE LEON IN CLEVELAND.

Daniel De Leon, editor of the New York Daily People, will speak at Germania Hall, Erie street, near Woodland avenue, on Thursday, July 20, at 8 p. m. Admission free.

As De Leon was one of the delegates to the late Industrial Union Convention at Chicago, and his speech will therefore be of unusual interest to all workmen, we hope that all Cleveland readers of this paper will be present. Trades unionists are especially invited.

##### DE LEON IN PITTSBURG.

Readers of The People in Pittsburg and vicinity, attention:—Daniel De Leon, editor of the Daily People and delegate of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance to the Chicago Industrial Convention, will speak on Industrial Unionism at Odd Fellows Hall, corner South Eighteenth and Sarat' streets, Pittsburg, Pa., July 21, at 8 o'clock p. m. All workmen and workingwomen are invited. Come and help make this meeting a rousing success.

##### YONKERS OPEN AIR MEETINGS.

Saturday, July 15—Getty Square. Chairman, J. Sweeney; speaker, R. J. Downes.

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## VIRGINIA'S CONVENTION

### MEETS ON JULY 4 AND NOMINATES STATE TICKET.

Dr. B. D. Downey of Roanoke, Thomas A. Hollins of Richmond, and Edward Schade of Newport News Chosen as Standard Bearer—Other Important Business Transacted.

Manchester, Va., July 7.—The third quadrennial State Convention of the Socialist Labor Party in Virginia was held in Richmond on July 4.

The Convention was called to order by the secretary of the State Executive Committee, Alexander B. McCulloch, who called for nominations for temporary chairman and secretary, respectively. Comrade Downey of Section Roanoke was elected chairman and Comrade Hollins of Section Richmond, secretary.

A committee of credentials was appointed, who reported the following delegates as being present: From Richmond, Comrades Muller, Hollins, Madison, Biersch and Smethie. From Roanoke, Comrades Downey, Smith and Goodman. From Newport News, Comrades Bolton, Schade and Chester. These delegates were seated.

Comrade Donald Munro, of Portsmouth, member at large, was also present, and was accorded the privileges of the floor. Comrade Munro being a veteran in the party ranks and a delegate to the Socialist Labor Party National Conventions of 1896 and 1900, joined frequently in the debates that occurred and was listened to with close interest.

A permanent organization was effected by the election of the following officers: Comrade Downey of Roanoke, chairman; Comrade Bolton of Newport News, vice chairman, and Comrade Hollins, secretary.

The State Secretary presented his financial report for the six months ending June 30, which showed the total receipts during that time to have been \$91.34; disbursements, \$69.52; balance in treasury, \$21.82. Due stamps sold, 317; balance stamps in hand, 150. This report was adopted.

The State Secretary made further report on the progress of the party in this State.

The Committee on Platform elected was composed of Comrades Goodman of Roanoke, Chester of Newport News and Muller of Richmond. After careful deliberation this committee recommended that the party's national platform be adopted as the State platform of this convention. Adopted.

The Committee on State Constitution offered an amendment which had for its object the simplifying of the work of future conventions in the matter of preparing the platform. This was adopted, subject to approval of the party membership of Virginia.

A motion to the effect that a message of greeting should be sent by this convention to the Industrial Union Convention now sitting in Chicago caused the longest debate of the session. The number of debaters pro and con were equally divided, but a motion to table the motion for the time being was adopted by a decisive vote. The matter was not called up again for action. It should be explained here that the opponents of the motion declared that any recognition of the Industrial Convention was premature until the Socialist Labor Party knew what was to be the result of the Chicago meeting.

Nominations were made for public officers for the State of Virginia, and the following were selected as the party's nominees:

For Governor  
Dr. B. D. DOWNEY of Roanoke City.  
For Lieutenant-Governor  
THOS. A. HOLLINS of Richmond City.  
For Attorney-General  
EDWARD SCHADE of Newport News.

The comrades selected as the standard bearers of the Socialist Labor Party in Virginia in the November elections are all men who joined the movement in its infancy and have at all times since been stalwart and loyal upholders of the party.

Richmond, Roanoke and Newport News were all competitors for the seat of the State Executive Committee. The contest resulted in a victory for Richmond on the second ballot, but by the narrow margin of only one vote.

Comrades Muller and McCulloch were nominated for State Secretary, the vote

(Continued on page 6.)

## WHICH IS TRUE?

### TWO STATEMENTS BY SAMUEL GOMPERS ON THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION STRIKE IN CHICAGO IN 1894.

#### I.

From the editorial "The A. R. U. Strike, Mr. Debs—A Bit of History," by Samuel Gompers, in the July American Federationist:

"But Mr. Debs would have it appear in his letter to Mr. Damm that the American Federation of Labor, and particularly its president, was hostile and antagonistic to him and to the A. R. U. To show how far from the truth this statement is, we call attention to the fact that TWO MEMBERS OF THE RAILROAD ORGANIZATIONS ALONE OPPOSED THE MOTION ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE FOR THE ENDORSEMENT OF THE POSITION OF THE A. R. U. AND WE CALL ATTENTION FURTHER TO THE FACT THAT THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR APPROPRIATED \$500 OUT OF ITS THEN SCANTY FUNDS, AND ISSUED AN APPEAL FOR FINANCIAL AID FOR THE LEGAL DEFENSE OF MR. DEBS. We ask Mr. Debs to read that appeal drafted for his aid and published upon page 127 of the 'American Federationist' for August, 1894. We ask him to read the articles we contributed to the North American Review and published simultaneously in the 'American Federationist' the same month. In the same issue of the 'American Federationist' we published another editorial opening with these words: 'It is a lamentable fact that success does not always attend the right of those who struggle to achieve it. If any doubt existed as to the truth of this statement, the strike at Pullman and the strike of the American Railway Union in support of it have dispelled that doubt. It is indeed difficult to conceive a cause in which right was more on the side of those who were defeated than in the one under consideration.'

"Has this language the sound of antagonism? That editorial set forth the causes of the strike and the awful conditions prevailing at Pullman, and it closed with this: 'The end is not yet. Labor will not down. It will triumph despite all the Pullman's combined, and as for Pullman, he has proven himself a public enemy. His name and memory are execrated to-day and will be forever.'

"And so on throughout the entire relations of the American Federation of Labor and its officers towards Mr. Debs and the A. R. U. There has been no instance other than that of kindness and friendliness; whatever alienation has taken place has been due entirely to the hostile attitude of Mr. Debs and those with whom he has allied himself, in the antagonistic endeavor to divide, destroy, or undermine the American Federation of Labor, the trade union movement of our country."

[The caps in the above are ours.]

#### II.

From the "Indictment of the American Federation of Labor," by W. E. Trautmann, read at the Chicago Industrial Convention, Thursday, June 29:

"Thus, in the official publication of the St. Louis, Mo., Exposition, 1904, of the American Federation of Labor Exhibit in the Social Economy Building, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, argues:

"It is not without reason that the members of this vast federation have been inspired with confidence in the ability and devotion of their officers. All of the latter are working officers of the most successful national unions, and as such have proved their capacity before being promoted to their present position. IT SHOULD BE REMEMBERED THAT IT WAS THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, ACTING IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE CHIEFS OF THE RAILWAY BROTHERHOODS, WHICH REFUSED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GREAT STRIKE ON THE RAILROADS CENTERED IN CHICAGO IN 1894, AND THUS AVERTED A BLOODY AND DISASTROUS CONFLICT WITH THE MILITARY FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES. It was this same council that in refusing to affiliate with the Central Federation of New York, with its fifty-nine local unions and some 18,000 members, because it included a branch of the Socialist Labor Party, struck the keynote of the resistance against the dangerous delusion that the emancipation of the Working Class can be achieved by placing in the hands of shallow politicians the business enterprises now conducted by private persons. An was 'this same council whose policy, after an evened conflict of five years' duration, was vindicated in open convention by a decisive vote of 1700 against 214, and the program of the common ownership of all the means of production and distribution was declared alien to the trades union movement."

"By the systematic pursuit of a policy as above illustrated, the American Federation of Labor has demonstrated to the world that the spirit of the trades unions is essentially conservative, and that in the measure of its conservatism it has become the most valuable agent of social progress. This is a truth only grasped by the most capable minds, and it is the recognition of this truth, and its practical application in the industrial world, that has enabled the American Federation of Labor to transform the old-time trades union forces and tactics into a disciplined army, only engaging in industrial war when diplomacy has utterly failed."

[The caps in the above are ours.]

#### MANIFESTO OF THE SWEDISH WORKERS.

Following is the Manifesto which the Young People's Social Democratic Movement of Sweden adopted at its first congress held at Stockholm, June 11 and 12 last. The congress also decided to print and distribute 100,000 copies. It reads:

##### "A Manifesto

"From the Young Workers of Sweden.

##### "Down With Arms.

"As each passing day makes it more and more plain that the Swedish upper class and reactionary papers aim at arousing a sentiment in favor of meeting Norway with arms in her struggle for liberty, the Young Workers of Sweden declare, through their representatives assembled at Stockholm, 'That it is a crime against the peaceful people of Sweden to try and force it to war with its brothers; 'That it is the Swedish workers', and the Young Workers' unalterable decision never to answer a call to arms; 'That the workers of Sweden are prepared to discontinue work all over the land, in order to prevent a war; 'That the Young Workers of Sweden surely are inspired by the view, that it is their duty to refuse to appear under the flag, in case of an eventual mobilization, well recognizing that the arms—if they should be aimed against any—should not be aimed against the Norwegians; and

"That, as a last declaration, we call upon all workers and farmers all over

the land, to arrange mass meetings and act as the situation may demand.

"Our aim is:

##### "Peace With Norway."

This Manifesto has the right ring. International Capitalism, some day, will hear it sounded in a manifesto proclaimed against itself. Then woe to it. Then joy to the International Working-Class!

This Young People's Social Democratic Movement of Sweden is a comparatively new affair. About a year ago it broke away from the Young People's Socialist Movement, on account of the latter's anarchistic tendencies.

#### DE LEON TOUR OF AGITATION.

The N. E. C. sub-committee, in conjunction with the Sections named below, have arranged for a tour of agitation with Comrade De Leon as the speaker, following the Chicago Industrial convention. The itinerary of the tour is as follows:

July 14—St. Louis, Mo.  
July 15—Indianapolis, Ind.  
July 16—Louisville, Ky.  
July 17-18—Cincinnati, Ohio.  
July 19—Detroit, Mich.  
July 20—Cleveland, Ohio.  
July 21-22—Pittsburg, Pa.  
July 23—Buffalo, N. Y.  
July 24—Rochester, N. Y.  
July 25—Syracuse, N. Y.  
July 26—Schenectady, N. Y.

The People is a good broom to brush the cobwebs from the minds of the workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.



# The General Strike of the Ruhr Miners

(By Dr. Robert Michels. Translated from "La Mouvement Socialiste," by L. G. A., in Edinburgh, Scotland, "Socialist.")

## THE LABOR REVOLT.

Tired of endless vexations (diminution of wages, lengthening of the hours of work, the impossibility of putting an end to the least of the innumerable abuses weighing them down) and goaded by the brusque refusal of the employers to treat with the trades union delegates, the miners of the valleys of Westphalia and the Ruhr violently revolted some months ago. Not listening to the pusillanimous advice of their trades union leaders—almost all members of the Reichstag—they declared a general strike, which in a few days included 230,000 men.

The last strike had taken place in 1889. Since then, in these parts, the class struggle had taken the "more civilized form" of parliamentary action—and naturally nothing had been changed. To augment the force of parliamentary pressure exercised on the Reichstag the trades union deputies had doubtless used threatening and haughty language at their meetings and in their papers. But, being bad psychologists, they deceived themselves. The bourgeois parties were stronger in reality than in the imagination of the Socialist deputies. They yielded nothing to these inoffensive threats, and the parliamentary mechanism was not put in motion to force legislative reform on the implacable mine owners.

The workers, on their side, had never ceased to call for a strike, which they asked their trades union deputies to declare! A saddening proof of what a long period of labor bureaucracy can do to make the rank and file forget how themselves to decree their own actions! The leaders, moreover, resisted in spite of these injunctions. Dwelling upon the small success that would attend immediate extra-parliamentary action—diplomatic tactics pertaining to parliamentarism—they resisted for a long time and then changed their tone, begging the workers at the same time still to be patient. And this at a time when the organ of the great Western German industries, the "Rheinische-Westphalische Zeitung," had come to declaring aloud that a general strike would never break out "whilst the miner leaders remained at their posts."

For the second time the trades union deputies refused to give an impetus to the strike movement. Then, unable to bear the curb any longer, roused to fury by the invincible refusal of the masters to treat with "political parties," the miners rose and imposed their own wishes on their timid leaders. The latter had to yield to the anger of the workers, and the strike was declared.

But the chances of success had already become uncertain on the day of the tardy proclamation of the strike. Better psychologists than the trades union deputies, more energetic and independent than they, the capitalists, united in their cartel, or employer's union, had calculatingly watched the strike preparing for some weeks. They had turned the indecision of the workers to their profit. They had not allowed these weeks and weeks to pass without taking elementary precautions for the defence. So that the strike, when declared, far from surprising the enemy, found him armed to the teeth when the fight began.

The conspicuous phenomenon of the first period of the strike was the unity of the diverse groups of miners, until then "brothers at enmity." It must be avowed that the greater part of the workers were not organized at all. The minority—very important moreover—were divided into four unions: the free union (Freie Gewerkschaft) officially neutral, but really organized by the Socialists, and the most numerous; the Christian union (catholic), the Polish union, and the Hirsch-Dunker union (liberal). Till then the struggle between the red and the yellow unions had known no truce. Forced by such serious circumstances they all united in

the same revolt and opposed the same resistance to capital which oppressed all equally. They elected without delay as a Central Committee for the "direction of the strike" a Commission of Seven.

Confronted by the strike, the German bourgeoisie was in a strange situation. It goes without saying that it really entertained only the minimum of sympathy for the strikers. Although the strike aimed at nothing revolutionary the bourgeoisie could only consider it, normally, as a reprehensible act of indiscipline of labor towards capital. But on the other hand another feeling disturbed it. The strike showed the reverse of the medal in this sense that it made all Germany feel that the national industry depended, in fact, on the good will of a dozen manufacturers of the Ruhr. Further, the revolt involved all the workers, not only the Socialist workers, but the Catholics, Liberals, etc. The fear of losing working class electors imposed, therefore, on the bourgeois parties a moderately anti-proletarian attitude. Also even the great princes of the Catholic church were forced to second the strikers. All the same it must not be imagined that the sympathy of the bourgeoisie for the strikers passed the modest limits of platonic policy. The relief and subscription lists show that the immense majority of the sums collected were sent to the strikers by their brothers in the struggle, the workers of other industries.

## THE ACTION OF THE REICHSTAG.

Citizen Hue, one of the miner "leaders," defended in the Reichstag, in a speech of more than three hours, the demands of the strikers. He began his address by saying that he did not intend to speak in his character of politician or Socialist, nor to create legislative action, nor to put forward any end far from attainment, but that he simply wished to speak as a miner. A typical example of what our trades union movement actually is in all its "neutrality!" Hue, moreover, held so strictly to this programme that "Vorwärts" overwhelmed him with praise for having spoken precisely like any sort of miner—clerical, progressive or nationalist! And, what makes it worse, Vorwärts was not even ironical in addressing these congratulations to the parliamentary Hue, who, though elected to the Reichstag not as a "realist" miner but as a Socialist, had the original idea of treating, before Parliament, the ideal of his party—as utopian!

Other deputies also delivered equally "parliamentary" speeches. But what must be noticed above all is the manner in which the party itself began to act. In twenty-seven public meetings held at Berlin, a unique resolution was passed, which demanded that the government should snatch the coal mines from capitalist speculation, and give them, in the interests of the community, to the Empire! This State Socialism (etatisme) of these twenty-seven meetings, inspired by the leaders of our party, shows as clear as the sun at mid-day the absolute lack of the Marxian spirit in the every-day politics of the German Social Democracy. The most essential view given by Marxian criticism to the Socialist doctrine is precisely the penetrating idea that the State—regarded in its historical development and in its empirical existence—is not, in spite of the assertion of the bourgeois State Socialists (etatistes) of the classic school, a Being beyond Good and Evil, neutral, without sex, perfect symbol of Right and of Justice (!)—but quite otherwise, a sort of interfeudal Committee of capitalist classes and rulers with the aim of preserving the dominion plebis, and consequently, anti-proletarian in its essence! Now, this is what the official Socialists of Germany, the Bebels and Ledebours, are asking as a refuge against capitalism and its own agents. To deliver the workers from capitalist exploitation they wish

the cross-over figure of the quadrille transported into high politics, to deliver them over to the protection of the Feudal State! The German State is the State in its strength, the State in triple power. Truly, there can be no real sense of what is practical in asking the State of William II., of Buelow, of Posadowsky and their substitutes, to take the place of the masters of private industry. All the police and military forces erected by the crushing State employer, whose despotism would no longer even be veiled or weakened by competition, that is what they offer us. Assuredly—the end of the strike has proved it—private capitalism has infinite resources to ensure the triumph of its interests. But the State, besides means identical to those of industrial capitalism, possesses also formidable instruments of immediate repression.

In practice German national life supports our theoretical assertion. In all Germany there is no master more tyrannous than the State. With the State is, in the last instance, the rural nobility of Prussia. The State, as an employer, concedes neither the right of coalition nor the right of union to its workers. The Hilgers case, which concerned an employe of the State mines of the Valley of the Saar, showed up State despotism in all its horror. The impossibility of freely exercising the right of the suffrage, bad treatment, spying, etc.—that is all that is to be got by the workers from the State.

To hand over the mines of the Ruhr and other valleys to the State would be to bureaucratize and feudalize at a blow a huge industry, maim the rights of half a million citizens and raise up a monstrous institution, half barracks, half prison. This is what the State Socialism of parliamentary opportunism may lead to; forgetting the elementary lessons of history, blinded by a hand-to-mouth and short-sighted policy, venturing on such nonsensical theory and practice!

This manifestation of such dangerous State Socialism was not the only error. The tactics were no better than the theory. In fact the Socialist trades unions are mixed up in action with the yellow (anti-Socialist) unions. Although the red unions were greater in numbers the commission of seven was presided over by Effert, a catholic and member of the Christian unions. This equivocal alliance was concluded by the "Socialist" unions at the cost of unimaginable compromise. At the meetings all Socialist propaganda was forbidden as harmful to neutrality. The word "comrade" was interdicted; "colleague" had to be used. To speak of the "modern" labor movement was to go against the exigencies of political tact. Whilst the catholic papers were making furious propaganda the Socialist papers were hidden away and asked to moderate their tone still more. At the large meetings the Socialist "leaders" declared that there was no difference between the various kinds of unions. One of them even went so far as to say to the miners, "Organize, it matters little how!" Those Socialists who wished to speak at the meetings to show that a neutral labor movement without character and without Socialist aims is nothing but a conservative movement, found that their speeches were suppressed under the pretext that they were anarchists. One room was boycotted as being regularly frequented by Socialists. The considerable sums sent to the miners by the Socialist party were doubtless welcomed (with good cause) but they were put down simply under the name of the cashier. All this not to offend the susceptibility of the dear catholic allies and of public opinion!

But nothing went well. The union leaders had placed their all on a game of chess against the political constellation. Now, the "governmental benevolence," so much desired, did not come. Von Buelow had certainly promised to serve as intermediary, but he haughtily

telegraphed his conditions to the miners: "the unconditional end of the strike." That was what the parliamentarism and diplomacy of the "chiefs" led to!

However, the action of the miners took a wider scope and their enthusiasm increased. The Socialist papers published in the district of the strike arose with passion against the governmental arrogance. They spoke of "provocation" on the part of authority, and some even, like the Volks Blat of Bochum, tried to give a political character to the strike by proclaiming as a watchword: The struggle for the right of universal suffrage, equal, direct and secret, in the Prussian Landtag.

A short time before, the Commission of Seven had declared aloud that it could not in any way have faith in the words of the government, and that the strike should go on even if the mines risked being inundated with water, until the masters should at least agree to some of the demands of the workers. But now suddenly the Commission raised its voice to declare the contrary. An assembly of delegates, not regularly elected—scarcely 170, representing 230,000 strikers—met with closed doors and unknown to its principals resolved against six votes, to stop the strike. Thus, the strike which began at the wish of the masses, irritated by the resistance of the masters, was ended by the order of these men. The end of the movement was imposed from above by a handful of "delegates," without the strikers, who had desired the strike with all their energy, having the least chance of interfering in their own business.

The order of the day by which the Commission of Seven sought to assign a motive to the end of the strike, and which it wished to impose on 230,000 strikers, included many veritable insults thrown in the face of all class conscious proletarians. The second paragraph said, indeed: "Considering that the continuation of the strike would have caused enormous difficulties to the entire national economy." A consideration which really shows better than anything else the profound feebleness of mind of our union leaders! To make the strike depend on the good fortune of national industry—that is to say, in the first place, of national capital—is a somewhat compromising dependence for a modern labor movement. But that is not all. The paragraph announced, among other things, nothing less than the confidence of the miners in the Imperial government! And hear the unconscious irony, "Considering that . . . the government . . . has firmly promised the reform, in mine legislation, which it has promised for ten years." It is rather absurd to place confidence in the most reactionary and feudal government of Europe, all the more when it must be avowed that we have already vainly waited ten years on unfulfilled governmental promises. What guarantee is there then for the future?

But for the third time the leaders showed themselves to be bad psychologists. Again, they proved incapable of controlling passions. The enthusiasm of the strikers, who had even improvised a stirring woman's movement, was struck to the heart by this oligarchical and unexpected order. In many parts harsh and bitter recriminations were hurled against the leaders, who were threatened and called traitors. At several meetings it was resolved to "disobey" and continue the strike. But the German workers have not yet learned to dispense with leaders. After some days of confusion and exasperation the latter succeeded in putting a definite end to the strike. The 230,000 strikers went humbly and unconditionally to ask their masters, who on their side stood firm, to take them back to work. Many did not even succeed in obtaining that!

## THE LESSONS OF THE STRIKE.

The strike of the Ruhr has shown once more the absolute powerlessness

of the actual tactics of our trades unions and the total ignorance of the psychological factor inherent in all strike movements. The moment it appeared that the money would be exhausted, in a few days the strike was declared finished. "It is only our cash that can win our cause." This is what the leaders endlessly repeat. We admit that a well filled cash box is a good ally. But only an ally. To wish to fight the capital of capitalists with the capital of poor devils, is absurd. It is not by the power of ready money that strikers can win, but by much more powerful means, and a more ethical mandate: solidarity, Socialist class feeling, and the absolute economic necessity of the proletariat.

By its very nature a general strike of miners can only succeed when it is really general, that is to say international. Because if the mines have not everywhere ceased to work, capital, at its present actual stage of concentration in all industrial countries, is not in, and not even very disadvantageous, to bring from foreign mines the coal that is not furnished by the "national mines." The capitalist world-exports as much as it can procure to work the machines. The miner "leaders" of Westphalia had the intelligence to ask their comrades in England, Belgium and France to make common cause with them. In Belgium miners to give a proof of their international sentiments and also of ameliorate the conditions of their own lives, agreed to declare a sympathetic strike. The German miner leaders, the cause of this fraternal strike, a few weeks after cast off their Belgian comrades. But worse still: the coal miners' strike was not even general in Germany itself. And through the fault of the unions! Whilst the miners of Westphalia and the Rhinish provinces were revolting against their masters, the miners of Saxony, Silesia and Southern Germany, who had intended to help them were prevented by their union "leaders" from realizing their intention, and thus had to act as scabs against their comrades of the north, and diminish their chances of victory.

So the general strike was only general in Westphalia and the Rhinish provinces and even there it was not extended, in spite of the good wishes of many among them, to the other categories of labor, which would have been necessary to really intimidate the bourgeoisie. But to intimidate the bourgeoisie was exactly what wasn't desired! One of the greatest illusions of the strike "leaders" was to wish to fight the capitalists of the mines through other capitalists! They did not see that in the last resort the bourgeoisie is nothing but a single mass, making one block against any serious labor movement.

In fact the strike leaders did all they could to prevent the strike being serious. It having burst forth in spite of them, they at once began to give it an eminently pacific character. Law became a sacred word! They thoroughly succeeded in this, so thoroughly that a bourgeois Berlin paper could say: "We patriots may truly be proud of the discipline of our workers!" A strike which declares above everything its legality and its love of peace, deprives itself of the best chances of victory. The bourgeoisie ought to be confronted, not by the persuasion of folded arms, but by the clenched fists of a proletariat which only preserves its tranquility when it pleases.

The strike of the Westphalian miners is over, then, and the rank and file are tired and irritated. But it is not yet forgotten. The rank and file are convinced that the parliamentary, neutral and legitimate tactics of their leaders have failed, and at their expense! But they do not yet know how to emancipate themselves from their leaders, nor how to substitute true tactics for false. The urgent necessities of coming struggles will teach them this.

So long as they can retain their mastery by subterfuges which they advance to obscure the issue of the class struggle, they will do so, as flattery and fraud are easier and cheaper to use than force, and they bring the same results, viz: THE ENSLAVEMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS.

The only solution for this problem is the complete elimination of the capitalist class. This can never be done by supporting its candidates for office. To abolish capitalism we must recognize the class struggle, we must stand uncompromisingly with the working class and there can be no affiliation with, or support given to any capitalist candidate under any circumstances. Every one is for or against Socialism. THERE IS NO MIDDLE GROUND.

Viewed from this standpoint, there can be no toleration of traitors in our ranks. We can fight the open enemy, and win by force of numbers. Against those in our own ranks who give assistance to the enemy, either ignorantly or knowingly, we must protect ourselves. If they ignorantly give assistance to capitalism the matter can be remedied by education; but such persons should not be allowed to take part in the party work until they know the nature of that work.

If a party member shall deliberately and knowingly give assistance to capitalism, there is but one thing to be done in the matter, and that is to drive him to open alliance with capitalism with which he has secretly consorted. We can then know who we are fighting and will risk no stab in the back.

In order that these principles may be applied to the tactics of the Socialist party in North Dakota, I make the following charges, proof of which I am prepared to furnish on demand:

First—I charge Wm. Ballou, J. Dalquist, P. G. Forsberg, A. Nordhaug, J. Rylander, J. Demdsey, H. E. Siegfried, who are members of Fargo Local, Socialist party, with having signed nominating petitions for persons who are not members of the Socialist party for candidates for the Fargo school board.

Second—I charge Wm. Ballou and J. P. Dalquist, who are members of Fargo Local, Socialist Party, with having given moral support to a candidate for member of the Fargo school board, who was not a member of the Socialist party, such support having been given after Fargo Local had nominated a full list of candidates for the Fargo school board from its own members.

Third—I charge Arthur Bassett, W. Ballou, J. P. Dalquist, J. Rylander, N. H. Montan, Ludwig Folden, A. M. Brooks, A. A. Kleist, J. Songquist, and T. R. C. Crowell, who are members of Fargo Local, Socialist party, with having voted in a meeting of Fargo Local in favor of exonerating members of the local who had signed nominating petitions for candidates who were not Socialists for the Fargo school board.

Fourth—I charge Fargo Local, Socialist party, with having exonerated its members who had signed nominating petitions for candidates who were not members of the Socialist party for members of the Fargo school board.

Fifth—I charge Thomas Thams, J. P. Dalquist, John Rylander, T. Ostbye, and A. M. Brooks, who are members of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist party of North Dakota, with having signed a sub-committee report to the Executive Committee, the effect of such report being to exonerate Fargo Local for its action in exonerating members of the local who had signed nominating petitions for candidates who were not members of the Socialist party.

Sixth—I charge the State Executive Committee of North Dakota with having adopted a report presented by a sub-committee, the effect of such action being to exonerate Fargo Local for its action in exonerating members of the local who had signed nominating petitions for candidates for the Fargo school board who were not members of the Socialist party.

I am a member in good standing in the Socialist party of North Dakota. I believe that the facts enumerated in the above charges constitute a violation of the principles of the Socialist party; and as a party member I respectfully demand that the State Committee of the Socialist party of North Dakota proceed to take such steps as shall be adequate to meet those conditions, and be

for the welfare of the Socialist party in the future.

Fraternally submitted,  
C. E. PAYNE.

II.

Fargo, N. D., May 24, 1905.

To the North Dakota State Committee.

Dear Comrades:—If you wish to know what kind of "Socialists" are at the head of the Socialist party in Fargo you should consider the kind of "Socialism" practiced by the man they have appointed to act as state secretary until an election can be held.

The Executive Committee has sent out calls for nominations for state secretary, and have appointed Wm. Ballou to act in that capacity until the election is completed. If the Executive Committee was made up of true, uncompromising Socialists they would not have appointed him to that position. Their having done this proves their confidence in him. Let his record tell whether he is worthy of the respect and confidence of TRUE Socialists.

During the past year Wm. Ballou has been so energetic in school board politics that it has been a matter of common remark that "the school board is in session whenever Wm. Ballou and Mrs. Darrow meet." During the recent school board campaign Mr. Ballou was known as one of the managers of Mrs. Darrow's candidacy, and he worked for her throughout the campaign, even after Fargo Local had nominated three of its own members for the school board. I am unable to say for whom Wm. Ballou did vote, but this I am able to say and to prove: Wm. Ballou did vote in the school election, and he did not vote for either of the three Socialist candidates.

Some State committeemen have said that signing a petition can hardly be called a compromise or endorsement. Are the above facts enough to prove a compromise? If not, what is a compromise?

The only politics that is safe for a Socialist is Socialist politics, and Wm. Ballou has certainly injured the Socialist party by his actions, however much personal prestige he may have contributed to furthering Mrs. Darrow's school board plans.

Wm. Ballou can write nice letters, and quote Shakespeare and Ruskin in a well-modulated voice. He has also written an article on ancient "POTTERY" which he read at a pink tea. He next had it published, and then inflicted it on one of the propaganda meetings held by Fargo Local. The article did not contain one word that could be construed as having any reference to Socialism. Mr. Ballou is also a nice, cordial gentleman to meet when he wants to get votes for a capitalist candidate.

Yet the writing of grammatically correct articles on ancient "POTTERY," the generous cordiality needed to get votes for capitalistic candidates, and the open and brazen compromising that William Ballou has been guilty of, are not the best qualification for the position of State secretary, the position that is most important of any in the State party.

There is no reason for having a compromiser in our ranks.

Compromisers should always be treated as traitors, for they are nothing else. If a compromiser is in the ranks of the open enemy we will know where to find him, and we can buy him whenever we need him. If he is in our own ranks we will never know where to find him, and he will be bought by the enemy when we need him the most.

The Socialist party is a party of the working class, and in the coming conflict between the working class and the capitalist class will have need of men who at least know the nature of the class struggle, and do not try to chloroform the working class into quiescence by teaching ancient "Pottery" instead of modern Socialism.

And above all we do not need men who will violate every principle of the Socialist party by compromising. If a Republican or Democrat should give any assistance to the opposition he would be kicked out of his party without ceremony. Shall we have less sense of honor than have Republican and Democratic ward heelers? Let us not make the Socialist party a dumping place for the kind of refuse that other parties will not tolerate.

Yours fraternally,  
C. E. PAYNE.

# More "De Leonism"

After having been removed by a referendum vote as secretary-treasurer of North Dakota, C. E. Payne says in a circular to the membership of the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party:

Before we can take up the question of democracy in the Socialist party for discussion, there is another side issue which has been forced to the front for solution and that is the question of compromise.

In March seven members of Fargo Local signed nominating petitions for candidates who were not Socialists or members of the Socialist party, for mem-

bers of the Fargo school board.

This matter was brought to the attention of Fargo Local at two different regular meetings and the result was that the local adopted a resolution exonerating the members who had signed the petitions and the local, as a local, assumed the responsibility of such acts. The result of this is that Fargo Local stands as the party responsible for individual members having given assistance to the capitalistic candidates.

Later, however, the State Executive Committee has adopted and sent out a circular letter in which they exonerate Fargo Local in exonerating its seven

members who had given aid to the capitalist candidates.

It is true that the petitions were signed by the members of Fargo Local before the local had nominated its own candidates, but this does not settle the question of whether a member of the Socialist party may give aid to capitalistic candidates; and of whether a local is justified in giving its quasi endorsement to those capitalistic candidates by exonerating the members who have signed their petitions.

It must never be forgotten that the Socialist party is of the working class; that the tactics of the working class

party MUST be in accord with the philosophy of the class struggle; that this philosophy of the class struggle teaches that the interests of the working class are diametrically opposed to those of the capitalist class, and finally that when put to the test every candidate for any office will support either capitalism or Socialism.

## THERE IS NO MIDDLE GROUND.

The only way we can have any assurance that an office holder will stand uncompromisingly for Socialism is to have him a member of the Socialist party and pledged to support its principles. In this movement it is always safe to

suppose that any one who is not with us to the extent of joining the Socialist party, would not stand for Socialism if elected to office. We can never afford to support that kind of candidate.

The Socialist party is the political party of the working class. The working class is engaged in a struggle with the master class for the control of all sources of political power. In this struggle there can be no compromise.

The master class will use flattery, fraud or force, as the occasion may require but they are determined to stay in power by whatever means are necessary.

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## THE CHICAGO CONVENTION

(Continued from page one.)

### ELEVENTH DAY'S SESSION DEVOTED TO ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND SPEECHMAKING.

Charles O. Sherman, General Secretary of the United Metal Workers, Elected General President—Is Proud of Honor Conferred Upon Him and Realizes that in the Struggle Before Us There Will Be Much Fighting to Be Done—William E. Trautmann, Fraudulently Deposed Editor of the "Brauer Zeitung," Elected General Secretary—Will Stick Until Victory Is Won by the Forces of the Industrial Workers of the World—A General Executive Board Also Elected—Ratification Meeting in Brand's Hall A Big Success—De Leon, Hagerty and Trautmann Proceed to Milwaukee to Address Meeting There—Adjournment Amid Cheers.

Chicago, July 8.—Three cheers for the Industrial Workers of the World, called out William D. Haywood, chairman, as the convention adjourned since at 1:45 p. m. to-day. The cry was taken up with a hearty good will by the assembled delegates, who made Brand's Hall resound with their cheers. Haywood called for a tiger, and again the walls re-echoed with a ringing cheer that announced to the world the birth of a genuine revolutionary Union of the workers of all industries, united to make common cause against the system which enslaves them. Last night's ratification meeting which was a rousing success, also closed in like manner, with cheers for the Industrial Workers of the World.

The new organization is now fairly launched with a complete set of officers as follows:

General President, Charles O. Sherman; General Secretary-Treasurer, William E. Trautmann; members of General Executive Board, John Riordan, F. W. Cronin, Frank McCabe and C. Kirkpatrick.

General President Sherman has announced that the office of the United Metal Workers, 148 West Madison street, Chicago, is at the disposal of the Industrial Workers of the World, free of charge, as temporary headquarters.

The business of the day was gone through without a hitch, the delegates being inspired by the feeling that despite the difficulties, discussions and debates incident to so great an undertaking, to-day was to be the crowning point of two weeks' work well done. After the usual preliminaries, minutes, etc., and the referring to the incoming General Executive Board the address to the workers, prepared by press and literature committee, the formal installation of organizations took place, including the Western Federation of Miners, the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, the United Metal Workers, the American Labor Union, the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, the Industrial Clubs of Cincinnati, Chicago and Pueblo, the Punch Press Operators of Schenectady, and others.

Then followed the election of officers. Thomas Hagerty nominated for general president Albert Ryan, who declined. D. McDonald named C. H. Moyer, who also declined, and placed the name of J. O. Sherman, seconded by S. J. French, before the convention. Chairman Haywood, when nominated and urged by Delegates Ferber and Gilbert to accept, stated that he had recently been re-elected secretary-treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, and must decline. Klemencik nominated David C. Carter, who also declined to accept any office at this time. Daniel De Leon was also named, but said that he had other work to do, for which he felt more fitted. Delegate C. O. Sherman was then made the unanimous choice of the convention and declared elected, amid great applause.

When called upon for a speech, General President Sherman declared that he found difficulty to find words fitting for an occasion upon which so great an honor was shown him, and expressed his appreciation of the compliment paid him by the Western Federation of Miners, whose delegation had declared him their choice for the important position of trust he had been chosen to fill.

## GREAT MEETING

### IN MILWAUKEE ADDRESSED BY HAGERTY, TRAUTMANN AND DE LEON.

Milwaukee, July 9.—It was a great crowd that greeted De Leon, Hagerty and Trautmann at Liedertafel Hall on Saturday, July 9, at the mass meeting arranged by Section Milwaukee, Socialist Labor Party. The meeting was a great success. A great many Social Democrats were present and the words of the three speakers must have showed to them the wrong tactics to which they adhere. Frank Wilke, president, and in a few but well chosen words, introduced Hagerty, the eloquent ex-priest. He said:

"The object and aim of the newly founded Industrial Workers of the World is the replacing of the present system of exploitation by Socialism, while the American Federation of Labor divides the workers up in crafts and these crafts again in different sub-un-

He knew that in the struggle before us there will be much fighting to be done everywhere; but if he receives the co-operation of the members he will do his utmost to insure success and will strive to administer the laws of the organization in the best manner possible. The height of his ambition will be to see the organization grow to the proportions which it must, in order to accomplish its mission.

When the applause had subsided, Chairman Haywood installed the General President, and handed over the gavel. This gavel, Haywood afterward requested permission to retain as a memento of this historic convention, which was cheerfully granted by the convention and Shurtliff, owner of the gavel.

The question of nominee for general secretary-treasurer left no doubt that the convention was a unit in deciding to confer this trust upon William E. Trautmann. His name was presented by W. L. Hall. Speeches were made by Delegates W. L. Hall, Thomas Hagerty, Clarence Smith, William D. Haywood, Ferber, Morrison, and others, eulogistic of the good work done by Trautmann, giving him due credit for his noble and self-sacrificing efforts to bring about the realization of the objects set forth in the Manifesto. Thomas J. Powers also seconded the nomination of Trautmann, on behalf of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance delegation. Trautmann was much affected by the keen appreciation shown by those who recognized the value of his efforts, and when elected by acclamation, made a short speech in which he declared his willingness to continue the struggle until victory finally comes to the forces of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Then followed the election and installation of the general executive board as named above. Delegate McCabe being chosen the member of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, Charles H. Moyer that of Western Federation of Miners, and C. Kirkpatrick that of United Metal Workers. They were ratified by the convention, and Delegates Cronin and Riordan elected from the floor by roll call ballot.

Before adjournment a resolution presented by M. T. Hagerty of the Butte Mill and Smeltermen's Union was referred, with the recommendation that as soon as possible the organization establish an educational bureau for dissemination of literature on sound economics and provide for lectures.

On report of Ways and Means Committee, the matter of assessment was referred to the General Executive Board, and the stenographic report was left where it was at the beginning, which means that it remains the property of the DAILY PEOPLE, and will be published by it at its own expense.

A resolution was also passed, giving credit to the papers that have treated the convention fairly, and which named the Chicago-Arbeiter Zeitung, Cleveland Sozialistische Arbeiter Zeitung, DAILY PEOPLE, Miners' Magazine, Voice of Labor and The Crisis. An amendment inserted the words "and all other papers that supported Industrial Unionism since the issuance of the Manifesto."

De Leon, T. J. Hagerty and General Secretary-Treasurer Trautmann left for Milwaukee to address a mass meeting there to-night.

ions, making it so very easy for the capitalists to play one workingman against the other, thus scattering their strength. The new industrial union, however, wants all the workers united, not to make them craft-conscious but class-conscious."

The speaker cited various examples to show that the old form of trades unions, like the American Federation of Labor, is the strongest weapon in the hands of the capitalist to keep the workers divided. The reason for this is proved by the fact that the capitalist takes such a great interest in what the late Mark Hanna termed his "labor-lieutenants."

"Firemen go on strike," said Hagerty, "and the engineers will run the train with scab firemen, although the engineers are also union men. The teamsters in Chicago," continued the speaker,

"are on strike, but union freight handlers do not shrink from unloading the wagon the drivers of which are scabs. Here union men of the Gompers' brand of trades unions are aiding scabs and at the very same time drag through the mud the very principles for which they are supposed to stand. The new Industrial Union wants all the workers united in one union, thus making the injury to one the injury to all, or in other words, that the united action of all workers alone can bring about a ray of sunshine in the dark, gloomy life of the proletarian. The only way to get out," remarked the speaker, "is to get what the other fellow has. Therefore, it is so very important that the workmen be educated that they understand that the industries can be run and managed by themselves."

Hagerty spoke about injunctions, and said that these were powerless, or rather, worthless, if the workers were organized along the lines of "The Industrial Workers of the World."

Then the speaker spoke about the check-off system among the mine workers, and again said that such a system too would last no longer than a snowball in hell if the workers turned their backs to the policy of Gompers, and join the Industrial Union just founded in Chicago.

The speaker concluded by saying that the war against Capitalism must be waged as long as it has not been subdued. The dove of peace—Socialism—shall then reign supreme.

The next speaker was our Comrade Daniel De Leon, editor of the Daily People. It was some time before De Leon could start with his speech on account of the deafening applause with which the audience greeted him. De Leon delivered a masterly address—masterly in that it shows him to be a man who not only has a "firm hold on the Labor cable," but who is in earnest in what he says. A profound understanding of Labor's cause is in harmony with his feelings. It is a well known law, as our rhetoricians explain, that a cause must both be felt and understood by the speaker, if he wants to make an impression upon his hearers. De Leon fulfills this law to a t. Our editor made a deep impression upon those present at the Liedertafel Hall. I shall not attempt to give a report of his speech, which could be but a skeleton of it at the best, but shall confine myself to certain points in his address:

"The ballot," said De Leon, "is a weapon of civilization, but it is powerless unless it has the backing of a strong economic organization. A 'Socialist' party that allows its candidate to get elected by the aid of Capitalism, no matter how little or insignificant such an act may seem to the world, and how little the 'Socialists' may have been aided, is the drawing of their very life blood—their downfall. Civilization ends where barbarism begins, and vice versa."

De Leon then spoke about the significance of the ballot, also explaining what he meant by the term "might."

"You may monkey with the thermometer," said he, "but you cannot change the temperature. While the capitalists may keep down the thermometer they, however, cannot keep down the temperature—the intellectual wave which threatens them with destruction. Might then" continued the speaker, "does not mean a barbarian way of destruction, but a full matured understanding which naturally is the very strength of the Labor Movement."

The speaker next spoke of the Industrial Workers of the World and said that it should be a training school for Socialism.

Next he described the Labor Movement and pointed out very clearly that though a beast cannot be described by odd extremities—and cited the tail, trunk, eyes, etc., etc., of an elephant, for instance—everything has a central figure. De Leon then took up that central figure in the Labor Movement, the trade agreement, gave their meaning, showing how they are forced upon the men through their misleaders, "consequently," the speaker said, "the very principle of a contract was violated."

The speaker then dwelt upon the difference of capitalist development in Europe and America. "Here," said De Leon, "we have to fight capital and there is no doubt of what Capitalism is, but in Europe Capitalism has not yet reached the stage it has reached in the United States; consequently, it is utter foolishness when some Social Democrats refer to Germany and claim that the party yonder has adopted such or such tactics. These may be good enough for some European countries, but they will not do for so highly developed a country as America."

"The Wisconsin Social Democrats, or rather their leader, Mr. Berger, always refers to Germany in justification when his wrong tactics are condemned," De Leon at this point referred sarcastically to Berger, and the uneasiness with which the Social Democrats moved in their seats showed that they felt the lash.

"Trades unions of the old style and (Continued on page 4.)

## WARNER AND CO

Denounced by Machinists—Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance Vindicated.

For many years the machinists in New York enrolled in and in sympathy with the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, have denounced George Warner, business agent of the Machinists' International Union and Republican politician in Greater New York. These denunciations were investigated by the more intelligent of the rank and file of the machinists with the result that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance sentiment grew among them. But there were still many who from mental density or prejudice refused to listen to or approve of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance's words. Among these were the "Socialist," alias Social Democrats, or as they are called, "the borers-from-within." These were the staunchest upholders of Warner, who, undoubtedly, laughed in his sleeves at them. Truth, however, cannot long be crushed. It is bound to rise. It is rising now in New York and with the very aid of these self-same anti-S. T. & L. A. pro-Warner "Socialists," alias Social Democrats. Their little tin god has openly manifested his corruption and contempt for them, with the result that they are compelled to attack him, along with other prominent officers of the International Machinists' organization who have also been repeatedly exposed by the machinists of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. The following resolutions, published in the Denver "Miner's Magazine," of June 22, will tell the tale of the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic substantiation of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance's denunciations of Warner and Co. It comes a little late, but then, it is never too late to mend:

### RESOLUTIONS FORM NEW YORK.

New York, May 14, 1905.

Brothers:—We, the undersigned lodges of District 15, I. A. of M., respectfully submit to you the names of candidates of our choice for your most serious consideration:

Maurice Landers, of 398, Springfield, Massachusetts; card No. 7053, for International president.

Charles Heyde, of 313, New York, card No. 77018, for member of general executive board.

Nathan A. Cole, of 351, Hoboken, New Jersey, card No. 118,124, for delegate to American Federation of Labor.

Brother Landers, who held the office of fifth vice-president from 1901 to 1903, must be well known to all of you as a man true as steel, whose sincerity to the interest of the working class nobody can doubt, and whose capability for the office of president is in our opinion unquestionable. He also served as special organizer for the I. A. of M. in this vicinity.

Brother Heyde, for member of general executive board, is a man we have thoroughly tried in District 15, where he is now serving his third term as a member of our district executive board, and also holding the office of trustee of the district. In 313 he is doing duty as president in his second term.

Brother Nathan A. Cole, for delegate to the American Federation of Labor, is a man of exceptional ability, as a man you can stake your soul on it that he will not treat you as our old delegates have done at the meeting of the federation in Boston two years ago. He is an orator, second to none, just the man we need to look after our interest in that body, fearless and thoroughly imbued with the spirit that to the workingman belongs all that he produces.

The above-named candidates were nominated by the following lodges:

Maurice Landers, by 402; Charles Heyde, by 313; Nathan Cole, by 351, and their nominations were then sent to District 15 of New York for endorsement, which they received by an overwhelming majority, showing that the district is in favor of these brothers taking the places of the present incumbents of their respective offices.

Brother Nathan A. Cole we nominated to take the place of George Warner, of New York, the present delegate, one of the notorious four who betrayed the entire membership against the positive instructions given them by a referendum vote.

Brother Heyde is to take the place of Brother M. J. Ford, of New York, in the general executive board, whom we justly held partly responsible for allowing the following four traitors, George Warner, J. J. Creamer, Ireland and Hammerstrom, to remain in office for two years, when the constitution gives the general executive board full power to remove any officer for incompetency or unfaithfulness. But not only did the general executive board not take the initiative in removing them but even at the written request of several lodges, endorsed by more than a hundred locals all over the land, did they refuse to put their removal to a referendum vote, when these men violated their obliga-

tions by refusing positive instructions given them by a referendum vote and not by our convention.

Brother Maurice Landers we nominated to take the place of James O'Connell, our present international president, who acted in conjunction with the before-named traitors in defying the membership at large at that Boston convention.

When the president of any organization sets himself above the members, and instead of shaping the policies of the organization to conform with the expressed wishes of the membership, as a wise and conscientious leader should do, makes himself the absolute ruler, then we believe it is high time to retire him to private life.

We also beg you to consider the name of Brother John Collins, who has been nominated by his local, No. 134, of Chicago, as another delegate to the American Federation of Labor to take the place of Ireland, of Chicago, another of the notorious four. We, the undersigned, and many more locals in this vicinity, have endorsed his nomination and are thoroughly satisfied that he is the man for the position.

And lest you forget:

"Remember" Warner, Creamer, Ireland and Hammerstrom when their names should loom up on the ballot.

Brothers, eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and eternal vigilance is needed to preserve our organization and make it the peer of any the world over.

If this circular should not reach you in time to indorse any of our candidates, lay it over till election night, read it and let the members choose.

Send all communications to G. M. Marr, 877 Gates avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

Yours fraternally,  
Wm. Munzer, President,  
Aug. Wohlpart, Secretary,  
Manhattan Lodge No. 402.  
A. Muller, Vice-President,  
G. M. Marr, Secretary,  
Electric Lodge No. 313.  
Walter Parkers, President,  
W. H. Dewey, Secretary,  
Elysian Lodge No. 351.

What say the "Socialists," alias Social Democrats about the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance's attacks on Warner and Co. now?

### SECTION CALENDAR.

(Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements, at a nominal rate. The charge will be one dollar per line per year.)

Kings County General Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m. at Weber's Hall, corner of Throop avenue and Stockton street, Brooklyn.

General Committee, New York County—Second and fourth Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York County at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Los Angeles, California. Section headquarters and public reading room at 205½ South Main street. Public educational meetings every Sunday evening. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

San Francisco, Calif., S. L. P. headquarters and free reading room, No. 280 Jessie street. Open day and evening. All wage workers cordially invited.

Section Chicago, S. L. P. meet every 2nd and 4th Monday at Exchange Hall corner of Sangamon and Monroe street.

All communications to Section Toronto to be sent to C. A. V. Kemp, organizer Section Toronto, Brimacombe P. O. Ont. Canada.

Sec. St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P. meets every Thursday, 6 p. m. at 307½ Pine Street Room 6.

Sec. Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P. meets every first and third Sunday of month at 356 Ontario Street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 2:30 P. M.

Tacoma, Wash., Section headquarters and public reading room corner 12th and A street, room 304, over Post Office. Open every evening. All workingmen invited. Business meetings every Tuesday.

Section Providence, R. I., meets at 77 Dyer street, room 8. Something going on every Tuesday night at 8:00 p. m. 2nd and 4th regular business, others devoted to lectures and discussions. During the winter a Science Class every Wednesday night.

Section Indianapolis. Meetings first and third Tuesdays of each month, at 29½ South Delaware street, third floor.

Detroit, Mich., "Socialist Labor Auxiliary Reading Room, room 10 avenue Theatre Bldg., Woodward avenue. Open every evening. Sunday all day. Discussion upon interesting topics every Sunday

To secure the DAILY PEOPLE regularly, ORDER it from your Newdealer. As the paper is not returnable, your Newdealer must have a STANDING ORDER for it, or else they will not get it for you. INSIST ON GETTING IT.

## John Mitchell Exposed

BY

ROBERT RANDELL

The President of the United Mine Workers' Union, John Mitchell, is a labor leader widely known, a leader who has been almost idolized by many workingmen believing him to be the foremost defender of labor's cause, and we would it were true. But far from being the true guardian of labor's interests, Mitchell has betrayed vast armies of strikers to disastrous defeat. In these addresses, Randall, a member of the United Mine Workers, lays bare Mitchell's autocratic and traitorous conduct in the Colorado-Utah strike of 1903-4, and also his infamous connection with the National Civic Federation. This is a valuable lesson in the methods of the lieutenants of capital as labor leaders. The "Two Pages from Roman History," read by the light of this expose, will be better comprehended.

PRICE 5 CENTS.

New York Labor News Co.

26 NEW READE STREET

NEW YORK

## The Burning Question of TRADES UNIONISM.

A lecture delivered at Newark, N. J.,

by Daniel De Leon

Editor of the Daily People, the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party.

Trades Unionism is one of the methods by which the exploited class of to-day—the working class—seeks to resist or minimize the power of the exploiter. The author goes into a searching analysis of trades unionism and shows how the mistakes incurred by tradesunionists lead to the nullification of their efforts at redress. Correct tactics are set forth. No student of Socialism but must be familiar with the trade union movement, therefore this book should be read.

PAPER, 5 CENTS.

New York Labor News Co.

2-6 New Reade Street,

New York, N. Y.

## The Gold Sickle;

...OR...

Hena the Virgin of the Isle of Sen.

By EUGENE SUE.

Translated from the original French

By DANIEL DE LEON.

This story is the first of the gems in the necklace of gems that Eugene Sue felicitously named "The Mysteries of the People; or The History of a Proletarian Family Across the Ages." It is a story of Druid Gaul, captivating in its simplicity and superbly prelude the grand drama that is gradually unfolded from story to story, ending in the great French Revolution.

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correspondents are requested to keep a  
copy of their articles, and not to expect  
them to be returned. Consequently, no  
stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED  
STATES:

in 1888	2,068
in 1892	21,757
in 1896	36,564
in 1900	34,191
in 1904	34,172

Ca ira! Ca ira!!  
(It moves! It moves!!)  
—GRONLUND.

WHICH IS TRUE?

In another part of this issue will be  
found, under the above heading, two  
statements by Samuel Gompers on the  
attitude of the American Federation of  
Labor toward the American Railway  
Union Strike in 1894.

Mr. Gompers, fearful of the success  
of the new Industrial Union Movement,  
feels impelled to state, in the first of  
these two statements that "TWO MEM-  
BERS OF THE RAILROAD ORGANI-  
ZATIONS ALONE OPPOSED THE MO-  
TION ADOPTED BY THE CONFER-  
ENCE" (of American Federation of  
Labor and railway union officials),  
"FOR THE ENDORSEMENT OF THE  
POSITION OF THE A. R. U. AND  
WE CALL FURTHER ATTENTION  
TO THE FACT THAT THE AMERI-  
CAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AP-  
PROPRIATED \$500 OUT OF ITS  
SCANTY FUNDS AND ISSUED AN  
APPEAL FOR FINANCIAL AID FOR  
THE LEGAL DEFENSE OF MR.  
DEBS."

Mr. Gompers, addressing the capital-  
ists of the country at the St. Louis  
World's fair in 1904, in the second of  
these two statements, says:

"IT SHOULD BE REMEMBERED  
THAT IT WAS THE COUNCIL OF  
LABOR, ACTING IN CONJUNCTION  
WITH THE CHIEFS OF THE RAIL-  
WAY BROTHERHOODS, WHICH RE-  
FUSED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE  
GREAT STRIKE ON THE RAILROADS  
CENTERING IN CHICAGO IN 1894,  
AND THUS AVERTED A BLOODY  
AND DISASTROUS CONFLICT WITH  
THE MILITARY FORCES IN THE  
UNITED STATES."

Which statement is true, or in other  
words, when is Gompers telling an un-  
truth: in the first statement where he  
is trying to placate the rising storm of  
true Unionism, or in the second where  
he is demonstrating his usefulness to  
the Capitalist Class, whose labor-lieu-  
tenant he is, via Belmont and the Na-  
tional Civic Federation?

Mr. Gompers, as the advocate of "di-  
plomacy" in industrial warfare, has over-  
done it. Diplomacy is the art of hiding  
duplicitly, not exposing it. That is the  
function of entrapped knavery. The  
Working Class is now able to recognize  
the "diplomats", thank to the enforced  
"cleverness" of the latter!

THE UNEASINESS OF EASLEY.

Ralph M. Easley, professional recon-  
ciler of the irreconcilable at \$10,000 per  
annum, originator and secretary of the  
National Civic Federation, aide-de-camp  
of August Belmont, and friend and de-  
fender of Samuel Gompers, president of  
the American Federation of Labor, is  
getting decidedly uneasy. The Chicago  
Convention has caused him to explode  
in the July "National Civic Federation  
Review." Because the Socialists prefer to  
come out openly in opposition to Gompers  
and his Easleyized Federation; because  
they indict Gompers' job trust, with its  
bribery scandals and betrayals of Labor  
in the interest of Easley's employers, the  
Capitalist Class, and prefer instead an  
Industrial Unionism, which organizes  
all labor and makes the grievance of  
one workman the concern of all; be-  
cause they do not endorse Easley's well-  
paying and false contention that Labor  
and Capital are one, when Easley would  
be out of a job if they were, and his  
whole professional career proves them  
to be as wide apart as the poles; be-  
cause they decline to support the men-  
tal, moral and physical degradation and  
degeneracy, which, according to com-  
petent foreign observers and our own  
statistics, is the lot of the American  
people under the system of wage slavery  
and the private ownership of social pro-  
duction, upheld by the Capitalist Class;  
because they have no stomach for Pea-  
body, Sherman Bell, and their uncon-  
stitutional oppression of Labor, or for the  
Equitable footers, the Loomis and Mor-  
ton scandals, child and woman labor, the  
slaughter of workmen, race suicide,  
divorce, prostitution, graft, the black-  
list, international commercial wars, and  
all the other exquisite products of the  
system which enlists Mr. Easley's dis-

interested professional efforts, they are  
dastardly conspirators, "foes to Ameri-  
can institutions", and, oh, horrors, re-  
pudiated by "organized" Labor, by Gom-  
pers and all the other "labor lieuten-  
ants", who stand by Easley and Easley's  
employers, the Capitalist Class, in all  
their moral grandeur and beauty.

Poor Easley, no wonder he takes it  
so uneasily; no wonder his professional  
utterances are so disinterested and pa-  
triotic. The coming together of genuine  
Socialists on the basis of a trades union  
principles organized in accordance with the  
principles underlying the Class Struggle,  
and forced to the step in a great meas-  
ure by the outrageous conduct of his  
Civic Federationized American Federa-  
tion of Labor towards the Working  
Class, of which they are members, is  
more than Easley can calmly stand. It  
makes him nervous, impulsive and ex-  
plosive. It knocks his pet theories  
about the impossibility of Socialist  
agreement and the reconciliability of the  
irreconcilable interests of Capital and  
Labor, higher than Knabenshue's alrship  
can fly. It takes the ground from under  
Mr. Gompers's feet, who first blusters,  
ridicules, threatens and defies the new  
movement, and then chases his tune to  
arguments meant to impress and pla-  
cate, only to show that he is a "labor  
diplomat", who only opens his mouth  
to expose himself. No wonder they  
jointly fret and fume. No wonder they  
appeal to patriotism, which Dr. Johnson  
once described as the last resort of  
scoundrels, and which the slave-holders  
used in ante-bellum days in a manner  
worthy of Easley's imitation and re-  
suscitation. No wonder they invoke the  
sacred shades of "organized Labor", as  
the slave-holders invoked the aid of the  
sacred and holy Church, and the divine  
origin of their beneficent institution.  
No wonder they talk conspiracy, when  
the indictments of the Chicago Federal  
Grand Jury show that the only con-  
spirators against Labor are Mr. Easley's  
employers, the capitalists, and Mr. Gom-  
pers's friends and co-workers, the labor  
fakirs of the American Federation of  
Labor. Have Mr. Easley and Mr. Gom-  
pers forgotten Mr. Easley's eulogy of  
Mr. Driscoll, the Chicago go-between,  
and their fellow conciliator, mediator,  
and arbitrator, in the "National Civic  
Federation Review"? If they have, we  
herewith take pleasure in reminding  
them of it.

The cause of the uneasiness of Easley  
is apparent. It makes Socialists rejoice.  
It inspires them with a desire for ag-  
gressive work in behalf of their cause:  
the overthrow of the capitalist system  
and the emancipation of Labor through  
the insurrection of Socialism.

A REVOLUTION IN RETAILDOM.

"Men's Wear", retail and department  
store organ, in its issue of June 9,  
announces, what The People predicted a  
year ago, that John Wanamaker is go-  
ing to introduce an all night service in  
his big Philadelphia and New York  
stores. This announcement is causing  
considerable discussion in distribution,  
or "retaildom", as it is more popularly  
called. The small stores that have kept  
open late at night in defiance of the  
early closing movements promoted by  
the big department stores, see destruc-  
tive competition ahead for them in the  
Wanamaker move. The whole raft of  
small store keepers in the working class  
districts near the big New York store  
will especially feel this competition, for  
then they will not, as is now the case,  
be in undisputed control of the night  
purchasing trade which the hours of the  
working class make indispensable. With  
a big store, selling more cheaply,  
conveniently at hand, these small store  
keepers are bound to suffer loss of pro-  
fits and collapse, that is, they are bound  
to be absorbed by the big department  
stores, for the success of Wanamaker's  
will cause other stores to follow its  
lead.

Of course, there are some who claim  
that a big department store cannot keep  
open all night at a profit. They argue  
that this is only possible on a small  
scale. This may be true; but it does not  
seem to be in accord with the tendencies  
of distribution. These tendencies are  
closely analogous to those apparent in  
industry. As in industry, competition  
and concentration have compelled the  
working of plants day and night, in or-  
der that the depreciation due to idleness  
may be added to profit, and machinery  
consumed quickly so that new improve-  
ments or inventions may be continually  
installed, so in distribution have com-  
petition and concentration forced the  
exploitation of department store plants  
at night also. Again, the all night  
service of Wanamaker's will be more or  
less tentative in the beginning; it will  
be merely incidental, or additional to the  
day distribution.

The outlook for labor, in connection  
with this revolution in retaildom, is not  
encouraging. Department store labor is  
badly treated in the day time. It is  
not likely to receive improved conditions  
at night, as night work is always more  
disadvantageous than day work. This is  
common experience. On the whole, there-  
fore, this revolution will be watched  
with interest.

LAWYERS AND LAW.

The Chicago Convention continues its  
work of agitating the capitalist hench-  
men and spokesmen. First, it impelled  
Gompers to open his mouth in order  
to expose the character of his "diploma-  
cy" in the settlement of Labor trou-  
bles; second, it rendered Easley so un-  
easy that he was compelled to give  
vent to his professional and patriotic  
feelings; now it is forcing the "Chicago  
Chronicle" of July 1 to give an exhibi-  
tion of knowledge and reason that can  
only be called praiseworthy by doing  
violence to truth. Says the "Chicago  
Chronicle": in an editorial entitled "So-  
cialism versus Law":

"It is a significant fact that a dele-  
gate to the Debs convention in Chicago  
has been denied a seat in that body be-  
cause he is a lawyer.

"The man who was most active in  
bouncing Lawyer L. B. Boudin, who is  
well known in New York as a Socialist,  
was Daniel De Leon, the president and  
leading spirit of the Socialist Trade &  
Labor Alliance.

"Socialist De Leon said he did not ob-  
ject to Socialist Boudin on personal  
grounds at all, but because Boudin was  
a lawyer and because all lawyers are  
'parasites' and a Socialistic labor or-  
ganization should have nothing to do  
with 'human leeches'.

"When a Socialist convention bounces  
a Socialist delegate by an overwhelming  
majority, instigated thereto by a recog-  
nized Socialist leader on the ground  
that the offensive delegate is a lawyer  
and therefore a parasite and a human  
leech, we have a pretty plain and au-  
thoritative declaration that Socialism  
knows no law.

"Wherever society is governed by law  
there will always be use for lawyers,  
and lawyers will not as such be para-  
sites or leeches."

The conclusion that because Socialists  
oppose lawyers therefore they oppose  
law, is anarchistic and unsound. Law  
is not a creation of lawyers, nor is it de-  
pendent on them, consequently one may  
ostracize lawyers and yet respect law.  
Law is the reflex of material conditions  
and as these change the law and the  
lawyers change with them. Even now  
material conditions are rendering law-  
yers incidental, that is, parasitic, and  
THE PROPHECY IS MADE BY CAPI-  
TALIST LAWYERS THAT THE LAWYER  
IS SOON TO BE A THING OF THE  
PAST.

In a suggestive address on "The  
Changed Status of Lawyers" published  
in "The New York Commercial" of  
March 13, James Hamilton Lewis has  
this to say upon these points:

"Finally, I return to my prophecy  
that the lawyer is soon to be a thing  
of the past. I mean as a professional  
calling for hire. I pause to note what  
his present position is.

"The lawyer is no longer the first  
citizen of the community because he is  
a lawyer. No longer is the profession  
of law the 'open sesame' to polite so-  
ciety. No longer is the lawyer regarded  
the leading citizen, to be looked up to  
as the author of reforms, the leader of  
undertakings.

"... The lawyer who is but a  
lawyer, however talented, learned and  
refined, must take second place beside  
the director of the company for which  
he is counsel or beside the client who  
is rich. Both of the latter regard the  
lawyer as an incident. In great corpo-  
rations the lawyer is but an auxiliary,  
something of a seamstress in the house  
of industry to patch up the broken  
places. . . ."

It requires no great imagination to  
realize that when corporations finally  
become so unified as to compel their  
ownership by society, that the "broken  
places" and the parasitic lawyer will  
have disappeared, while the law itself,  
the law of co-operation and concentra-  
tion in the interests of society, will pre-  
vail.

We recommend that the "Chicago  
Chronicle" give up anarchistic logic, and  
study Socialism.

CHILD LABOR AND EDUCATION.

The discussion on child labor at the  
National Educational Conference held at  
Asbury Park, N. J., during the Fourth  
of July holidays, presented two views  
on the cause of the evil that are worth  
contrasting. One, presented by George  
H. Martin, secretary of the State Board  
of Education of Massachusetts, attaches  
the blame of child labor to parents,  
Says Mr. Martin:

"Whenever we find children denied  
prematurely their right to time and  
instruction we find the primary cause  
the ignorance and selfishness of their  
parents. In every investigation into  
child labor it is found that the motive  
of the parent is to relieve himself from  
labor. Cases are common—among cer-  
tain nationalities they are almost uni-  
versal—where the multiplication of  
children is for the avowed purpose of  
increasing the productive labor of the

family and thereby relieving the father  
more quickly from the necessity of la-  
bor."

Mr. Martin favors the enforcement of  
compulsory education laws to overcome  
this alleged condition of affairs.

The other view is that presented by  
Professor Franklin Giddings. He inti-  
mates quite strongly that the poverty of  
parents makes child labor compulsory  
upon them. Says he:

"A final and deeper difficulty exists,  
which has received curiously little at-  
tention. We hear a great deal lately  
about 'race suicide'. Large families are  
no longer seen, especially in the so-called  
middle class. It is strange that no one  
has pointed out the connection between  
the increased demand upon parents to  
maintain their children in school, fore-  
going the earnings that children might  
add to the family income, and the di-  
minishing size of the average family.  
The connection, however, is undoubtedly  
a real one, and the practical inference  
is obvious. If the restriction of child  
labor is desirable; if compulsory edu-  
cation is desirable; and if at the same  
time large families also are desirable,  
the State must make up to the family  
at least some part of the income that  
children could earn if they were per-  
mitted freely to enter upon industrial  
employments. The question, therefore,  
that we shall have to face and to an-  
swer is this: Shall the State pay pa-  
rents for keeping their children in  
school between the ages of ten and four-  
teen? This would be a policy of Social-  
ism, undoubtedly."

Between these two views, there is but  
one choice and that is the view presented  
by Professor Giddings. It is sounder  
and more comprehensive than Mr. Mar-  
tin's. It shows that poverty compels  
parents to forego many children, just as  
well as it compels them to exploit them  
in the factory. Professor Giddings only  
errs when he proposes to overcome this  
poverty through what he is pleased to  
call "a policy of Socialism", that is,  
State aid. Socialism is not State aid.  
Socialism is economic justice, based on  
fraternal co-operation. Socialism says:  
"Give Labor what it produces. Stop the  
robbery of Labor through wages and  
profits, by inaugurating the social own-  
ership of the social means of production.  
When that is done, Labor will not be  
pauperized, nor forced to exploit its  
children in order to perpetuate the race:  
Labor will then be self-supporting and  
progressive."

The indictments of the Federal grand  
jury of Chicago against seventeen promi-  
nent packers for violating the Sherman  
Anti-Trust law, furnishes another de-  
monstration of the truth that the great-  
est law-breakers in the country are to  
be found among the class controlling  
industry. It is doubtful if there are  
seventeen men in financial and indus-  
trial circles, standing much higher than  
these men. J. Ogden Armour is said  
to preside over a trust whose ramifica-  
tions are greater and more powerful  
than those of the Standard Oil Com-  
pany—the Beef Trust. Associated with  
him in this trust are the Cudahys, the  
Swifts, and others equally as famous,  
or infamous. But it is this very fact  
that makes it doubtful if these men  
will ever be so punished as to break up  
the trust. They are powerful, very  
powerful, not only because of their  
trust possessions, but because the trust  
is a social development whose destruc-  
tion is fraught with danger to society.  
It is this fact that makes the punish-  
ment of these men in a really vital  
manner impossible. Those charged with  
their prosecution will pay the necessary  
formal deference to the law and the  
clamor of the anti-trusters, but nothing  
essential will come of it. The trust  
will go right on its way until it forces  
society to take it over unto itself.

With Root in the Secretary of State  
office and James B. Dill a judge in New  
Jersey's highest court, the trusts are  
well taken care of. Where can Labor  
or the middle class point to such polit-  
ical and judicial achievements in this  
country?

The despatches from Odessa, state:  
"The exodus continues by every train.  
It is necessary to book seats several  
days ahead. At the railroad station this  
morning the correspondent heard a Rus-  
sian offer a hundred rubles for a five-  
ruble ticket."

This is an index of the character of  
the capitalists. As they buy the labor  
they rob, so do they purchase safety  
in times of peril, according to supply  
and demand. Is Labor to fear a class  
so devoid of courage and character?

We often read in print such state-  
ments as the following: "What the  
public needs more than public ownership  
is public spirit." How public spirit  
can prevail amid class exploitation is  
not made clear. As well say that what  
a sun flower in a cellar needs to grow  
is more of the sun-flower spirit; the  
sun don't count.

THE CONVENTION AND THE "PURE  
AND SIMPLE" SOCIALIST PRESS.

When the stenographic report of the  
Chicago convention is in, the Daily and  
Weekly People may have something to  
say in the way of a review of its achieve-  
ments; at present, it is deemed best to  
let the eloquent and essential facts at  
hand, telegraphed from Chicago, and  
printed in these columns, speak for them-  
selves. Though adopting this course, the  
Daily and Weekly People cannot, how-  
ever, help calling attention to some of  
the results of the convention, as ex-  
hibited in those copies of the "pure and  
simple" Socialist papers containing al-  
leged reports thereof, with comments  
thereon, that have thus far been re-  
ceived in this office. It is characteristic  
of these "pure and simple" Socialist  
papers that they prefer to take certain  
phases of the convention, distort them  
out of all proportion to their actual  
value or actual results, and then dilate  
upon them with apparent glee. For in-  
stance, they lay great stress upon  
Coates' fight for national craft auton-  
omy, while barely stating its impotent  
results. Or they divide the convention  
into "groups" according to the theories  
or interests alleged to be represented;  
while they gloss over the emphatic in-  
dictment of Gompersism endorsed by all  
present, together with the almost unani-  
mous vote in favor of the principles of  
true industrialism. Aside from the fact  
that this sort of tactics is tempermen-  
tal with the "pure and simple" Social-  
ist editors, who mistake appearances  
for reality and disconnected phenomena  
for the important whole, there is a  
method in their madness. What can please  
the "pure and simple" Socialist editors  
more than an exhibition of pure and sim-  
plem in an industrial convention, even  
though its importance be nullified by  
subsequent events? What can please the  
"pure and simple" Socialist editors more  
than to see "groups" there, as they see  
crafts in their unions, and divisions in  
their party, though the convention pre-  
sents, on the whole, an admirable and  
encouraging spirit of class unity and pro-  
gress? The fact of the matter is that,  
now as always, now when they have got  
an unparalleled opportunity, if earnest  
and honest, to shake off Gompersism and  
Capitalism through the organization of  
"The Industrial Workers of the World",  
these "pure and simple" Socialist papers,  
both daily and weekly, English and for-  
eign, are palming off their "pure and  
simple" Socialism for revolutionary So-  
cialism, because their private owners,  
dependent for existence upon the adver-  
tisements and the contributions of the  
Gompers Unions, dare not take the step  
that will materially aid in the allevia-  
tion and emancipation of the working  
class. The result is that, being thus  
situated, they are bound to indulge in  
these temperamental and petty attacks  
upon a movement for which every bona  
fide Socialist is enthusiastically working,  
convinced that it will lead to the prop-  
er unification of the working class on both  
the political and economic field. But  
these attacks will not prevail with the  
same force that they once did. Unlike in  
past years, the cause of revolutionary  
unionism now possesses a press untram-  
meled by Gompersism, and is therefore  
able to counteract these attacks to a  
great extent. The work done by the  
Daily People alone, in this respect, has  
proved far reaching. This press is bound  
to win increased working class support  
in the future, as the cause of the work-  
ing class demands such a press, and  
will consequently rally around it more  
in the future than in the past. Push  
it along!

Ye gods! More bluster about the  
"Equitable frauds", "criminal prosecu-  
tions" etc., ad nauseum!! The same  
thing was heard in connection with the  
shipyard stock scandals, and what came  
of it? Then the capitalists involved com-  
promised and settled the thing in the  
civil court in a manner agreeable to  
all. There were no striped suits dis-  
tributed. And so it will be here. The  
compromise isn't completed yet. But a  
few more threats and a few more "res-  
titutions", etc., will give it the necessary  
finishing touches. Dollars to doughnuts  
that Jerome will not send one of the  
Equitable's officers or directors to Sing  
Sing!

A despatch from St. Petersburg reads:  
"Hooligans attacked brothels and smash-  
ed the windows." This is a good indica-  
tion of the thing capitalism calls moral-  
ity. To attack brothels and smash their  
windows is stigmatized as hooliganism  
by it. Evidently to have patronized the  
brothels would have been "an act of re-  
ligion and progress!"

The elimination of the wholesale job-  
ber from the retail trade is now the  
subject of a controversy between the  
national wholesale grocers and certain  
packing interests. The latter ignored  
the former, with the result that a boy-  
cott was levied by them. This boycott  
is not likely to prove effective. The  
tendency of distribution is not only to-  
ward the elimination of the jobber, but  
also the retailer. "From producer to  
consumer direct" is a growing motto.

One of its members, addressing the  
Business Women's League convention,  
now in session in this city, warned  
against sentiment in business. Poets  
have always sung of the sentiment of  
woman, as they have of the chivalry of  
man, but when both go into business  
he is deprived of his themes.

July 4 was a great day. The  
usual number of people were shot up,  
the prevalence of fires was as great as  
ever, and the usual amount of noise and  
smoke was in evidence. It would be  
bad for the fireworks dealers, the doctors  
and the other interested parties, if the  
American people would sit down and  
calmly reflect how far they have strayed  
from the ideals of the Declaration of  
Independence. They would observe that  
we have the declaration, but the inde-  
pendence has departed.

"The Equitable officers are waiting  
on Jerome", says a morning newspaper.  
What's the use of buying "Puck" or  
"Life", when such jokes as this can be  
had with the news?

THE FACTORY GIRL.

[Written for The People, by Walter V.  
Halloway, Berkeley, Cal.]  
When the trembling east is beginning to  
blush,

With the rosy red of morn,  
And the world holds her breath in a  
solemn hush,

As another day is born,  
I am startled from sleep's illusive  
dreams  
By the factory whistle's imperious  
screams,

Which seem but the echo of yester-  
day  
So soon has the short night passed  
away.

A child was I, in my beautiful dream,  
In my old home far away,  
Where I stayed on the banks of a  
Laughing stream,

Through the slumberous summer day,  
And gathered the flowers that blossomed  
there,

With never a thought of work or care,  
While the birds above in the murmuring  
trees  
Poured their joyous songs on the per-  
fumed breeze.

Why is it, I ask, that the birds are free  
To flit over vale and hill,  
While I a life-long slave must be

In a noisy, squalid mill?  
Does God love the birds and hate me so  
That he fills my life with work and woe?  
Or can it be true that there is no God  
Save the factory master's cruel rod?

But God or no God, I must be in my  
place,

When the heartless wheels begin  
To turn the machine in its tireless race  
More wealth for its lord to win.

From my hurrying hands, with a fiend-  
ish roar,

It snatches its food and shouts for  
more.

"More food, more food, for my sate-  
less maw,  
More gold, more gold, is my master's  
law."

No matter how weary my arms may  
grow,

No matter how numb with pain,  
If I slacken my pace the machine  
seems to know

And shrieks in wrath again,  
"More food, more food, for my sateless  
maw,

More gold, more gold, is my master's  
law."

Till the soul of the ghoulish machine  
to me

Seems to laugh at my helpless misery.

All day the demon laughs and leers  
Till my heart grows sick with fright,  
And ever the taunt rings in my ears:

"I will have your soul to-night,  
For my soul and the master's soul are  
one.

And I'll come for your soul when the  
day is done.

More food, more food, for my cateless  
maw,

More gold, more gold, is my master's  
law."

COMRADES AND SYMPATHIZERS:

Section Tacoma now has their stero-  
scopic working, and have a sufficient  
quantity of slides to cover the subject  
of industrial evolution, but have need  
of a great many on social contrasts.

If any of the comrades will select  
illustrations from books, magazines, pa-  
pers or photographs and send them to  
Section Tacoma we will have them  
made into slides here.

Yours fraternally,  
William Borstein.

RHODE ISLAND CONVENTION.

The regular semi-annual convention  
of the Socialist Labor Party of Rhode  
Island, will be held July 16, at 2 p. m.,  
in Section Providence's headquarters,  
77 Dyer street, room No. 8, to hear the  
report of the delegate to the N. E. C.,  
and to transact such business as may  
come before it.

Francis Miller, Secretary.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONA-  
THAN.

UNCLE SAM—The general discon-  
tent—

BROTHER JONATHAN—Bother the  
general discontent; I call it the general  
stupidity.

U. S.—You may be right; if people  
knew what this capitalism means  
from which they expect a living while it  
will assuredly deal death to them—  
B. J.—That is not what I mean. That's  
all stuff about capitalism dealing death.  
What I mean is if people were not so  
stupid they would know in what way  
they could improve their condition and  
turn capitalism to good use.

U. S.—And what is your way?  
B. J.—I shall state my way if you  
have time to listen to me, because I shall  
want to state it systematically.

U. S.—"Systematically" is good; let  
her rip!

B. J.—We are two here, you and I.  
U. S.—That's profoundly true.

B. J.—If there is only one hat produced  
by us, we could not each have a hat  
could we?

U. S.—That's another chunk of  
questionable wisdom.

B. J.—For each to have a hat we  
produce two hats—not so?

U. S.—We could not each have one  
there would be no two hats.

B. J.—Now, that is the A. B. C. of the  
whole question.

U. S.—That seems very simple, but it  
may be too simple; it is certainly too  
simple for me.

B. J.—It follows from this A. B. C.  
that all that is needed is to increase pro-  
duction. If we can produce four hats  
we shall each have two; if we can pro-  
duce a hundred hats we shall each have  
fifty—

U. S.—Not so fast.

B. J.—If our people could only increase  
the amount of the wealth produced, all  
would be hunky. He who has a million  
would have two millions; he who has  
\$5,000 would have \$10,000; he who has  
\$500 would have \$1,000; and the poor  
workman, who to-day has nothing  
would have—

U. S.—Twice as much; twice nothing  
is nothing.

B. J.—How you talk.

U. S.—Surely not like a booby as you  
do. Your "system" of reasoning amounts  
to this: "The more the workers produce  
the more they will get."

B. J.—That's just it.

U. S.—And that is just nonsense. The  
fact and the reason is just the reverse:  
"The more the workers produce the less  
they get."

B. J.—Absurd!

U. S.—What enables the workingman  
to produce more?

B. J.—The machine.

U. S.—Say that in a room 100 men are  
at work without the machine and they  
earn \$2.50 apiece—

B. J.—Very well.

U. S.—A machine is brought in by  
which fifty men can produce more than  
100 before. Do not these fifty men now  
turn out more goods?

B. J.—They do.

U. S.—Are the other fifty  
work?

B. J.—No; they are displaced.



## CORRESPONDENCE

**[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]**

## CHICAGO CONVENTION SIDE-LIGHTS.

Oak Park, Ill., June 30, 1935.

Dear Comrade Kuhn:—De Leon and others will, I presume, write to you about the convention, but I doubt if, even the forcible pen of De Leon will give you a vivid picture of what is going on here. The dignity with which the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance delegation and the Socialist Labor Party men representing unions outside of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, carry themselves, has won the respect of the majority of the convention, for anything that comes from these quarters must be seen to be appreciated. When Powers, of Rhode Island, lambasted the few "intellectuals," the convention went wild and I am sure you heard the applause in New York. When De Leon presented arguments why Boudjianoff should not be seated, unseated he was, notwithstanding the fact that the credential committee recommended that he be seated.

Kinnear's telegram and one from the Socialist Labor Party of San Francisco were timely and well taken. But the most interesting day was yesterday, Thursday. The morning session was taken up by Trautmann, reading what will be called "The Indictment"—an array of facts presenting the outrages committed by the leaders of the pure and simple unions. It is a masterpiece, and will be of great value to the Socialist Labor Party agitator.

The afternoon session was taken up discussing the reasons why the convention is held. The audience called on Debs. He was greeted with vociferous applause. After a few preliminary remarks he came close to the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance delegation and said: "I would like to say a few words to the delegates of the S. T. & L. A. I want to state that I admire the pluck and courage of this handful of men, who for all these years remained true to their colors. I believe your principles are sound and your tactics are correct. I never doubted the honesty of your membership. But there are some methods you employed which do not appeal to the American working class. It developed the type of the fanatic which sees the fakir where there is no fakir. But I repeat that your principles are sound and your tactics are correct. Comrade De Leon" (and when he said this the applause and the uproar was indescribable), "yes, we have not been on very good terms with Comrade De Leon, but I felt for some time that I am coming very near to those with whom I previously disagreed and drawing away from those to whom I was so near. We are here to-day to organize a new economic movement based on the industrial lines which shall be broad enough to take in every honest workingman and too narrow for any labor fakir. The consequence of this one union of all forces on the economic field will be one Socialist party on the political field."

He continued in this strain for quite a while, speaking coolly, deliberately and calmly, concluding his remarks when the audience began to shout "De Leon." De Leon in opening said that whatever the people may say about him, even his foes will agree that to him there is but one enemy, and that is the capitalist class; that if there are men in the labor movement who admit their mistakes and are ready to join this new movement, following the correct lines, they will receive nothing but friendship from him personally and from the organization he represents. He spoke for quite a while and made quite a few good points. You will read his speech when it will be officially reported. But, Comrade Kuhn, can you imagine the impression these two speeches made on the delegates? And what is more important the results that will follow!

Unless I am very much mistaken this convention is the beginning of the end of the Social Democratic party. It must logically follow that this is the beginning of the growth of the Socialist Labor Party.

What a pity that you are not here! You and all those who for years stood all the insults, slanders and accusations of every freak and fakir in the land. You would realize that your work was not in vain. Whatever this convention may do, whatever may be the results of this convention, it cannot undo what it has done—namely, to recognize that the position of the Socialist Labor Party is the correct one.

Fraternally,  
M. H. Shayn.

## WAKING UP CHICAGO.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—The Socialist Labor Party comrades from all over the country are militant workers for the cause and will wake up Chicago. I was out two evenings with

the comrades at street meetings at which Veal, Dinger, Dillon, Jackson, Scheidler, Gillhaus and Wilke spoke and hope Section Chicago will develop speakers that are as able to propound genuine Socialism as they. Comrade Richter and another Detroit comrade are splendid hands at selling literature.

Comrade Neilson, organizer of Section Chicago, had all the Socialist Labor Party delegation out on the soap box in different parts of the city, and the party's enemies found that the Socialist Labor Party is a mighty live corpse.

I have had conversations with Comrades Reinstein, French, Kleinberg, Powers, Brimble and other comrades and must say it was a pleasure to exchange ideas on tactics, etc. We must never let up on all fakirs, renegades and mud-heads and keep pushing all S. L. P. literature in every language possible, and help clarify the movement.

Fraternally yours,

M. E. Kleinginger.

Chicago, July 2.

## EFFECT OF CHICAGO CONVENTION.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—The outlook here because of the Chicago Convention so far, is very good. The party of many aliases was doomed in this place, any way, but it looks now as if the disintegration will be more rapid, and in addition, a large percentage will line up with us.

J. O'F.

Abington, Mass., July 2.

## A LETTER TO TRADES UNIONISTS.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—Knowing as I do that my fellow members in the pure and simple unions are opposed to the Socialist Labor Party because they have been misled into the belief that the S. L. P. is opposed to unionism, it is my intention in this letter to answer said accusation, which is fostered by such men as Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and other so-called labor leaders of lesser notoriety, to whom the majority of the pure and simple how down and worship as some demigod. Gompers, Mitchell and Co., fellow unionists, are paid fat salaries and travelling expenses to look after your interests; while, in fact, they are misleading you and are constantly in alliance with August Belmont or other members of the capitalist class, whose "brotherly love" for the workers is so strong that they cannot resist the temptation of giving them an occasional squeeze (the kind that places the workers in the same category as the lemon from which the juice has been extracted). All this at a time when you should still possess the full powers of manhood.

The Socialist Labor Party has earned the hatred of those leaders of the Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party, who desire to retain the good will of the labor fakir brigade, in order to secure an occasional bone in the form of a delegateship to a convention a la Victor Berger of Milwaukee and Max Hayes of Cleveland; a position on a strike committee, a la Ben Hanford of Brooklyn, N. Y., or a job procuring scabs for the capitalists in the shoe industry a la Frank Sieverman of Rochester, N. Y., and others, all of whom recognize that to tell the truth would mean no more graft, and fewer shekels and votes for the party of many aliases.

The Socialist Labor Party recognizes the necessity of an economic organization that will wield the workers into one class conscious body, but contends that the pure and simple union as typified by the American Federation of Labor is of no value to the working class, for with the policy of craft autonomy, high initiation fees, high dues and the prohibition of economic discussions at the meetings of the unions, it keeps the workers divided and in ignorance, thereby making them easy prey for the capitalist class. Let us insert the probe and find out whether there is any truth in the contentions of the Socialist Labor Party. Let us take as the first example the railroad workers and what do we find: a house divided against itself, each craft, the engineers, firemen, switchmen, telegraphers, have their separate union; and so it happens that when the members of one union go on strike the others invariably remain at work and scab it, as was done in 1904 during the strike of the union freight handlers employed by the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad; and the result was that the railroad corporation gained the victory.

What was the spirit displayed by the engineers and firemen during the subway and elevated railroad strike: surely not that of men, for instead of upholding their brother members and other union members who were battling to

better their condition and ousting those officers of their order who played into the hands of the Belmont interests by declaring the strike unconstitutional, they remained meekly silent and inactive, and how many, oh, how many times have these same unionists manned trains filled with United States regulars or State militiamen going to one place or another prepared to shoot down workmen who had gone on a strike to better their condition?

Next, we have the mine workers in the late coal strike. John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers, ordered out the anthracite miners and kept the bituminous miners at work supplying the market with fuel. On April 23, 1905, we hear of Mitchell's official announcement that the strike in the Meyersdale, Pa., bituminous district has been lost and that the miners would return to work on terms dictated by the operators. Could it be otherwise when the miners in other districts remained at work? The late Mark Hanna judged correctly when he awarded to John Mitchell the title "my labor lieutenant."

I cite one more example that of the Brooklyn "Eagle," where the members of the Adams Cylinder and Web Pressmen's Association No. 51, the Franklin Association No. 23, and the Newspaper Deliverers' Union, having a grievance against the corporation owning the paper, in order to force their demands, went out on strike, and lo, behold, the aristocrats of the printing industry, the photo engravers, compositors and stereotypers, remained at work; thereby scabbing on those who went on strike. I have been informed that the delivery men have also accepted their bit of silver and have returned to work, to do their share of scabbing upon the pressmen and feeders, who are still on strike, and who ought to realize that under such conditions their chance of being successful is very slim.

In what industry do not these conditions prevail?

Furthermore, the false teaching that the interests of working class and capitalist class are identical, lead the majority of you to believe that the working class could not exist, if there were no privileged class, who live an idle and useless life; and that whenever members of that class set up a howl that they are not making any profits, as did the coal barons and steel magnates in the spring of 1904, that you should do as the workers in those industries did, accept a reduction of wages as advised by John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers and Theodore Shaffer, president of the Amalgamated Steel, Iron and Tin Workers. How brother capitalist responds to the request of the workers for more wages, is fully revealed in the following item copied from a capitalist newspaper published in New York City, Thursday, May 25, 1905:

## "STEEL TRUST TO WAR ON UNION WORKMEN."

"Pittsburg, May 24.—The United States Steel Corporation has determined to sever all relations with the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers when the present agreement in the tin plate and sheet branches expires on June 30. This was indicated by orders sent out to-day from headquarters of the American Sheet & Tin Plate Company to close a number of small tin plate plants on June 1, and to suspend operations at some of the large works about June 10.

"The workers will demand a restoration of the scale of 1903-04, which is equivalent to an advance of about twenty per cent. over the rates paid this year. This demand, it is said, will be taken by the steel corporation as sufficient ground for making its final fight with the Amalgamated Association. There seems to be no doubt that the company has accumulated large stocks, and it is known that the export and rebate trade has been entirely abandoned this year."

This item in itself ought to be sufficient evidence to convince the most skeptical workmen that the interests of the working class and capitalist class are not identical; that the capitalist class live upon profits (surplus value), which is wealth produced by and filched from the working class, and that the more wealth the capitalists can grind out of the workers, the more the capitalists can spend on Seelye dinners, fast horses, faster women, on titled ne'er-do-wells, whom they buy as husbands for their daughters; give larger donations to societies whose sole mission is to train the so-called heathens of Asia and Africa to be good and obedient wage slaves while on this terrestrial globe, and to expect as a reward a pair of golden wings in some other world; or to create large funds with which to subsidize college professors who teach capitalist economics.

Furthermore, this "brotherhood" rot leads workmen to believe that the political parties which are controlled and supported by the capitalists, will also look after the interests of the workers; and thus we see the sad spectacle of workmen year after year casting their ballots for the Republican

or Democratic representatives of the capitalist class. Who of you dare deny the fact that whenever members of the working class go on strike a Republican or Democratic president will order out United States regulars, a Republican or Democratic governor will order out the State militia or a Republican or Democratic mayor order out the police—not to aid you but to shoot you in the back, tickle you in the ribs with a bayonet, or break your head with a big stick?

The Socialist Labor Party endorses the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, which is founded on industrial lines, that is, that the workers in each industry organize into one compact body, the welfare of one being the concern of all; and with low initiation fees and no race prejudices, thus enabling every worker to be a member of a union; and where the officers, instead of arrogating to themselves dictatorial powers will be the servants who will carry out the will of the members. All industrial unions to be combined into one national organization, the same to be affiliated with the national organizations of workers of every other country, thereby bringing about the international solidarity of the working class. A union which is equipped with the knowledge that labor is the producer of all wealth and that to labor belongs that wealth, but that the workers are robbed of the fruits of their labor, of the right to self employment, and are forced into poverty, misery, crime and prostitution by the present system of private ownership of the means of production.

To-day all the mines, railroads, factories, mills, etc., which must be used to satisfy the needs and desires of a people, are the property of the capitalist class, which is the master to whom the members of the working class, the wage slaves—who own little more than their labor power, either physical or mental, and which they must sell for wages in order to live—are compelled to go to and beg for employment. The price (wages) that you receive for your labor power is regulated by the law of supply and demand; and, as to-day not only are we able, with the aid of new methods and machinery to produce more with less workers, but the simplification of labor that is going on enables unskilled men, women and children to take the place of skilled mechanics; therefore, the majority of the members of the working class receive barely enough to exist and reproduce their species.

Now, fellow workers, if you will only use your reasoning powers a wee bit, you will understand that the remedy for these conditions is the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production, and the substitution therefore of the Co-operative Commonwealth, wherein all the means of production will be the collective property of the people; and by reducing the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of labor, enable every one that is physically and mentally able, to secure employment and enjoy the full fruits of their labor; and assure to the old, sick, and mothers of our children every comfort and pleasure that nature and science can bestow; and to our children every opportunity of enjoying their childhood days and receiving a proper education, so that they may become useful and able members of society.

This change, fellow workers, cannot be brought about by simply hurrahing for the industrial union all the year, and on election day casting your ballots for the Republican or Democratic representatives of the capitalist class, or for the Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party, which has endorsed the American Federation of Labor with its policy of division in the interests of capitalism. If you would have the ballot prove of value to the working class you men must do your full duty by casting your ballot for the candidates of that party which fearlessly and uncompromisingly upholds the interests of the working class and demands the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class—the Socialist Labor Party.

In conclusion, I would state that the Socialist Labor Party in some States has no official place on the ballot and must therefore get thereon by petition. It is the duty of those of you who recognize the necessity of having a true working class party on the ballot to sign the petition when asked to do so, or to go to the place where the petition can be signed.

E. F. W.

Brooklyn, June 22, 1905.

## PREFERS ARGUMENT TO ABUSE.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—I have been reading The People for some time (have borrowed them) and have noted some of the differences between the Socialist Labor Party and the "Socialist" party. I might say I am of the opinion that it is better for the cause of Socialism that we have two parties, as it will tend to make them both "too the line." I am one of the type you term "Kangaroos," but I am also willing to learn and if the Socialist Labor Party can show me I am for

what is right every time. I am going into the root of the matter firsthand, hence I need a copy of "Capital." So far as our propaganda here in this province is concerned, it seems revolutionary enough. The editor of our paper, the "Western Clarion," has a good grasp of the Socialist philosophy.

I have read some of the attacks made on Comrade De Leon by Untermyer and Simon, et al. I fall to see where they made good; I think their language despicable; it seems to me that if a man goes wrong either intentionally or not, it is up to the other man to show he is wrong by reasonable arguments, etc., and not by commenting on his parentage, nationality, etc., etc. Of course, I believe in calling a spade a spade, at the same time; for instance, if a man stole something that did not belong to him he is, in these days, a thief, but it should be proven beyond a shadow of a doubt before he is called such; and if a man states something that is not true and it can be proved so to the satisfaction of any and all reasonable-minded men, he is, undoubtedly, a liar and may be called such. I may or may not be wrong; I don't know, nor yet care, but I look upon Comrade De Leon and his associates as comrades of our own, and working for the common weal. Whatever we say or do, I am of the opinion that Right will eventually prevail. It may be that our conception of Right will change, but the principle will go on and on.

Wishing you success in your fight for Socialism, I remain, yours for Socialism,

Wm. H. Moore.

Fernie, B. C., Canada, June 28.

## BUILDING TRADES ORGANIZER.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—I have received the following donations to the fund of Building Trades Local No. 5, Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, for the purpose of putting an organizer in the field:

Jacobson \$2; F. Pierson, \$1.50; P. Augustine 50 cents; Lind 25 cents; A. Bolin 25 cents; H. Andrews 50 cents; L. Lindgren 25 cents; P. Nelson 25 cents; S. Anderson 25 cents; Pelout 75 cents; G. Hall 25 cents; F. Triumph \$2.50; C. Stenstrom, \$1.25; T. Swanson \$1.50; A. Carlson \$1; J. Johnson \$1.25; Styles 50 cents; O. J. Nord 25 cents; R. Lindgren 25 cents; J. Swenson 25 cents; A. Olsen 25 cents; D. Holmgren 50 cents; C. Borg 45 cents; A. Youngquist 25 cents; G. Magnus 25 cents; B. Anderson 25 cents; A. Anderson 25 cents; D. Hovin 25 cents; V. Muller 25 cents; C. Nilan 25 cents; A. Pierson \$1; P. Johnson 25 cents; G. Thompson 50 cents; E. Holmgren 50 cents. Total \$20.70.

Theodore Swanson,  
Treasurer of Organizer's Fund,  
Building Trades Alliance Local No. 5, S. T. & L. A.  
New York, July 2.

## JERRY O'TOOLE SECONDS RALPH EASLEY IN CONTENDING THAT SOCIALISTS CAN'T AGREE.

New York, July 6.

Edyter Dailey People:

Dear Sir:—Sinn ninn av yere grate rithers an spakers dont seem to bee in a hurree to pick up the gontlet that i throo down at yere fete, twice now gon by, an as this unackshun wud apere to endykate a dispushun to avode a entyilgint diskushin av a queskin av sich proime empurtence to our gloris nayshun, me filosofy taches me that i hav ye baten to a shantshtill. The pin is moitere thin the soord, an i want to tel ye that im pritty handy wid bothe, for didnt i fit the spayards for the honir an glori av me adaptid cunthry an larnd aul the thricks av soord pley, an sinse i tuk up the shuddu av yere wickid dockthrines the thricks av the pin seemes so aisy to me now that i ofen think i was bornid wid a pin in me fist.

Now as i hav ye baten in wan dirackshun ile thrane me batherese an ye from another pint av the campis, an, as they say in battel, aythur dhrav yere foire, er sillise yere guns forvir.

Filosify is a foine shuddu as amny wan wot has thride id can tel, an id taches me among ether things that ye soshilists is onely unad becase daysint min rools the cunthry an wont gid doune an out to make rume fer yersels; an as for the gud yere dume, or want to do, is to rase a ruckshin wid pasefull an lawabidn citizens, aul av which ile proov in this lethre.

Fursht av aul, im tould thers to fackshuns, wan which we noe as the revilushinairie partee, an the wan cauled shreet car an elyvatid thrane ownership krue, an which is ye an which is tother is a depe misthry to mesel, an noes it all.

Now thin, ye say that yere foitin for the freedom av the douthroddin wurkin class,—as if they didnt hav freedom inuff now, more nor they diserve,—bud as a nather av fact yere scerapin an querelein among yersel as ivry wan sez which is a aul shate av alyfers in a krskun an pasefull ripublick. Bud bechoind aul soshilisthick rangles, an

## LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

P. W. MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—I. The Western Federation of Miners was launched in the City of Butte, Mont., in 1893. Its founders were metalliferous miners.

2. The American Labor Union was founded in Denver, Colo., in 1902. It was formerly the Western Labor Union. Among its founders were Edward Boyce, who was its first president; Eugene V. Debs, Daniel McDonald and Thomas T. Hagerty.

M. T. BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Of course that "De Leon is also a lawyer" argument is puerile. For almost fifteen years, De Leon has been closely identified with the Socialist Labor Party. During that time he renounced the profession of law, and as lecturer, debater, pamphleteer, translator, editor, and representative in the councils of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, and the conventions at home and abroad, gave all his means, time and genius to the Labor Movement. Not once has he sought to employ his abilities to his own advantage outside of it. The man who, in view of this, classes De Leon with Boudjianoff, who profits from the legal prosecution of striking workmen, he having aided in enjoining the striking Ladies' Shirt Waist Makers in 1903, may be put down as being incapable of making a proper classification. Such an individual will mistake a man for a reptile, and vice versa.

E. H. LYMAN, WASH.—Matter received and forwarded, as requested.

B. J. NEW YORK CITY—No; we don't believe that the system which robs Labor of four-fifths of its product can be "perpetuated for centuries to come," though those four-fifths becoming "the subject of an ever increasing export trade, and being consumed, or squandered by large and small capitalists and business and professional people of large or moderately large incomes." To believe this is to miss the significance of current history. In the first place, the ever increasing export trade is lacking, not in this country alone, but in other countries as well. The Department of Commerce and Labor is going to call a congress to see what can be done to increase American export trade. A congress to consider the economic expansion of the world is to be held in Mons, Belgium, on September 24. Why these congresses? Because it is recognized that in all civilized countries production surpasses consumption; hence the urgent necessity for markets. In the second place, this necessity for markets has already produced a revolution. It caused the Russo-Japanese war. We presume that you read the newspapers and know what is going on, not only in Russia and Japan, but in China as well. In the third place, the capitalist system of robbing Labor has already, in England, for instance, produced a deterioration that is arousing deep thought that will either tell against the system, or England. We prefer to believe that it will tell against the system. In the fourth and last place, capitalists and professional people cannot go on consuming or squandering indefinitely. Their capacity is limited. Besides they are compelled by the laws of Capitalism to reap profit and invest it. When markets are lacking they can do neither the

one nor the other. It was only last year that they, despite their consuming and squandering, were in that predicament in this country. The result was a panic, in which not a few of them lost millions and went to the wall. With capitalists at home and abroad seeking markets creating revolutions and experiencing panics NOW, it would be folly to believe that they can perpetuate their system, through exports and waste, "for centuries to come"; especially when the centuries to come are going to go through an economic development that will be much more rapid and thorough than that in existence at present. We prefer to grasp the significance of modern life, and consider the prospects it holds forth, than believe such things.

J. E. D. SECRETARY 23D A. D. NEW YORK CITY—Your communication has been referred to the N. E. C. Sub-committee.

S. T. F. PORT NORFOLK, VA.—The reports of the Chicago Convention, published in the Daily and Weekly People, will set you right as to the part played therein by Eugene V. Debs. You will see therefrom that, the "Portsmouth Star" of June 27, to the contrary notwithstanding, the new industrial workers' organization is no more dominated by Debs than by De Leon, and no more by them than by the 250 delegates present: it is a movement of the Working Class, inaugurated by 150,000 workmen, whom they represent. You will also understand therefrom the changed attitude of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance toward Debs and the members of his party who, by their words and deeds at the Chicago Convention, have repudiated "pure and simple" Socialism. You will see therein a willingness on the part of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, to aid in launching a class-conscious industrialism, thereby laying the foundation for the unification of the Working Class on both the economic and political fields in accordance with the Class Struggle. This is something different from uniting with "pure and simple" Socialism, with its division of the Working Class on both the economic and political fields, and its consequent record of capitalist fusion in the shop, through Belmont and Gompers, and at the ballot box, through divers methods, as you seem to fear.

A. J. B. JERSEY CITY, N. J.—Notice arrived too late for insertion in the Sunday People.

F. W. PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Notices intended for publication in the Weekly People must be in this office not later than 10 o'clock P. M. on the Tuesday preceding the date of publication.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.—Attention is called to the notice at the top of this column.

TO FRIENDS AND PARTY MEMBERS IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD.—Send preambles and constitutions of your Unions to this office. As complete a set as possible is wanted.

H. J. SHAWNEE, O.; E. S. OGDEN, UTAH; J. D. ERIE, PA.; "A FRIEND," LOS ANGELES, CAL.; W. H. BERRY, CAL.; C. D. LOWELL, MASS.; H. P. EUREKA, CAL.; UNKNOWN, EVERETT, MASS.; C. P. CARRIZO SPRINGS, TEXAS.—Matter received.

scrap, the raskels im tould, apere to be egrede opun wan thing to witniss: the disthruckshin av our gloris inshtitushins sich as poore housis, prishins, ensurshine, pimitinsharens an the cumplate overthroave av the capytalishstishum which is upheld be our gud kris-kun muthers, the capytalishst class, an foinaly, to cut id short, the villians wants soshilism which, as our hoily priest sez, wud be very disasthress to sussey. This is the dhredfull ame ye hav in vue, an ye cant diny id.

Now if yede opely egree an bechave loike ether people wots thrine to make a daysint livin, that is to say, be raykin in the profits, thin prihrips yede be rayspicted, evin be mesel.

Luckid our grate inshtitushins, our churchis, an our industrale shtirns an counthrese av aul koinds, an what do we see? The foinesht eggssamp av pase, yunatee an harmunee as ivir wor sene! See the ralerodes for inshtine, an the shippin—consarns an ensurshine nonapalese, always thrine to bether thimseles in a laygil way which av coorse is a rale binit to sussey. They may hav littel dhiffrins av apinoun weanse in awchole, behtume thimseles an evin wid ther wurkmin, bud that ther privilage, an besides, wurkmin is nivr contindid wid ther lot which is onkriskun an a grate sin as our hoily priest ofen sez.

Not long ago id will be ravnubered, misther Kassitt av the pinnillwayma ralerode found id convaynt to pick a

scrap wid the Goolds ovir sartin tarri-tore, an in order to prutack is inthirishis he was impaled to trase doune moils an moils av tellygraff shticks an med a lonefoire av thin, in fact he disthroyed publick-proprietee, bud av coorse wher sich vash inthirishis was at shtake a littel affayer av that koind dushut uper the soshil cogilybrun, as they say. An thin if ye want anther inshtine, ile giv ye the inthirburaw shtrike which they tels me was inginered be misther Royan av the metropolician. Av coorse the shtrikers got id in the nick, bud misther Royan an the gintilmin wot helped im got id in the pockiduck, bud in the presht shtate av our complexid sussey id cudnt be avyided.

Now let me giv wan more inshtine av raysint akkurinse wot haffind undhir yere noes an didnt shtop id wid aul yere tauk. Theres the grate inshtitushin cauled the ekyptolike ensurrense campeny, in which the biggish an moish rayspictible minlars av sussey is inthirishid. Now in that littel thrubbel they hav, a lot av muney is envolvod, an id wudnt be safe to thraged around loos in the shtricks, which sun av an at wan toime was afierd wud be dan, so they med up ther moinds to foit for the loims share, which av coorse has bene dum be the beht av kriskins in aul ages. Kin ye soshilists shoeh sich harmunee as the ekyptolike av coorse not.

An spakin av ensurrense curprinees, Did ye ivir shtop to consider the

(Continued on page 6.)



## OFFICIAL

**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—**  
Henry Kahn, Secretary, 2-4 New Reade street, New York.  
**SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA**  
—National Secretary, P. O. Box 340, London, Ont.  
**NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY.**  
2-4 New Reade street, New York City (The Party's literary agency.)  
Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

## N. E. C. SUB-COMMITTEE.

Meeting of the National Executive Committee Sub-Committee held on Friday, July 7, at the Daily People building, with Comrade T. Walsh in the chair. Present: Walsh, Bahmen, Eck, Crawford, Donohue, Lechner, Anderson, Kinneally. Absent with excuse: Hossack, Moran, Gilhaus, Katz; without excuse: Burke and Olson.

Minutes of previous meeting approved after slight correction.

Financial report for week ending June 17 showed receipts \$85.50; expenditures \$21.01; for week ending July 14, receipts \$23.32; expenditures \$157.13; for week ending July 1, receipts \$164.93; expenditures \$113.21.

Communications: One from Organizer Ahelson, on behalf of Section New York County, asking whether arrangements could not be made with Labor News Company to issue the book catalogue free of charge. Referred to Party Press Committee. From J. Koppelman, Fargo, N. D., former member of the Socialist party, giving information upon the make-up of that party and severely criticizing their tactics for expelling revolutionary Socialists and signing petition lists for capitalist nominations, two of their State committeemen and five individual members participating in the latter. From Mrs. Johnson, a lengthy communication reviewing the conditions and situation in California. It arrived too late to be brought before the National Executive Committee. From H. J. Schade, complaining because a communication sent to The People was not published. In the absence of the Editor no definite information could be obtained; so matter was left open until his return. From California State Committee stating that 25 due stamps were lost in transit between Los Angeles and San Francisco, and requesting their replacement; granted. From Comrade De Leon touching upon events in Chicago. From Fellerman, Hartford, Conn., relating their difficulties in securing a competent and thorough canvasser. From F. Zierer, New Brunswick, N. J., enclosing charges preferred against him by his Union, the Trades and Labor Federation, enumerating a long string of accusations and demanding his expulsion, the most grievous among the sins committed by him being his membership in and agitation for the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party, and his referring to Gompers and Mitchell in the sacrilegious terms of "traitors and misleaders of the Working Class." From Iver Larson, Lisbon, N. D., tendering his resignation, which was accepted. From the Twenty-third Assembly District, New York, finding fault with the wording of the minutes of the National Executive Committee referring to their case; referred to the secretary of that body. From Louisville, Ky., conveying information that two members of the Socialist party appeared before their branch meeting and promised to do all in their power to prevent the appearance of the Socialist party ticket in the field at the next election. From B. H. Williams, Butte, Mont., acknowledging receipt of literature, transmitting statement of expense account, and outlining plans for his agitation tour. Several from Frank Bohn upon his work in California towns, showing increase of membership, large and attentive audiences at mass meetings, and a brisk sale of literature, over 100 pamphlets having been disposed of in one week. Upon the whole the outlook is bright and promising.

Sections Cleveland, O., and Tacoma, Wash., reported election of officers. Two applications for charters were sent in by A. Gilhaus for Youngstown, O., and Canton, O.; granted. Two applications for membership-at-large received from J. Koppelman and Louis Paul, both of Fargo, N. D., and former members of the Socialist party, from which they resigned; granted.

Adjournment.

William Teichlauf,  
Sec. pro tem.

## GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

Charles Rogers, Tampa, Kans. \$ .50  
E. Schmalz, Pittsfield, Mass.  
(on \$1 monthly pledge) . . . . . 1.00  
Ed A. D. New York. . . . . 1.00  
F. Lechner, Hartford, Conn. . . . . 1.50  
Collected by Section Kalamazoo, Mich. . . . . 4.00  
Total. . . . . \$ 8.00  
Previously acknowledged. . . . . \$96.93  
Grand Total. . . . . \$104.93  
Henry Kuhn, Nat. Sec.

## BOSTON PICNIC.

Friends and sympathizers of Section Boston, S. L. P.: the Arm and Hammer Club of the Section is going to hold a picnic Saturday, August 5, at Armory Grove, for the benefit of the Section. A tug of war has been arranged between the Scandinavian Socialist Club and Section Boston, S. L. P. There will be singing by the Scandinavian Society chorus and others. Also various games and sports. A good time is assured. Tickets can be had at headquarters, 1165 Tremont street, or at secretary's house, F. Houtenbring, 27 Story street, South Boston.

## BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES.

Seventy more subscriptions to the Daily People came in during the week ending Saturday, July 8. Also a number of bundle orders. As soon as we can tell definitely when the stenographic report will start, it will be announced. In the meantime every one who is interested in getting a complete report of the Chicago Industrial Union Convention should subscribe for the Daily People. One month, 40 cents; three months, \$1.

One hundred and fifteen subscriptions to the Weekly People were secured. This is a good time to begin pushing the circulation of both the Weekly and the Daily People. The summer campaign, of open air meetings is on and the Chicago Industrial Convention will help to make our position better understood, so that it should be easy to secure subscriptions.

The Weekly People of July 22 will be of special interest to clerks, book keepers, salesmen, window dressers, packers, porters, stenographers, and others employed in offices and department and retail stores. It will contain a series of articles written by members of Clerical Workers' Alliance, No. 4, Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. Order a bundle and distribute them. Rates: 100 copies or less, one cent a copy; 100 to 500 copies, three-fourths of a cent a copy; over 500 copies, one-half cent a copy. The Clerical Workers' Alliance will look after the distribution in New York City.

## LABOR NEWS NOTES.

Some more good orders came in during the week ending July 8. But there weren't enough of them. It looks as though some of our people were waiting for the result of the Chicago Convention. We have not a doubt but that now all our forces will again swing into the work with even greater vigor than ever before; and that within a few weeks decided results will be shown. Of course, special literature, to some extent, will be gotten out as a result of the convention.

Chicago bought 433 "John Mitchell Exposed," 100 "Burning Question of Trades Unionism," fifty "Reform and Revolution," and thirty-six Emblem Buttons.

One Hundred and forty-four "Reform and Revolution" and three books were sent to Glasgow, Scotland.

Section Elizabeth, N. J., bought 1,000 leaflets and 100 assorted pamphlets. Milwaukee bought fifty "John Mitchell Exposed"; and Buffalo took fifty "Socialism," by McClure. The Twentieth A. D. N. Y., took twenty-five "Burning Question of Trades Unionism," and twenty-five "What Means This Strike?"

B. H. Williams, Butte, Mont., bought two "Woman Under Socialism," one "Pilgrims Shell," and thirty copies of pamphlets of assorted titles.

Comrade Santee, New York, bought books to the amount of \$2.10. The Cleveland Labor News Agency took a copy of Marx "Capital" and two bronze Emblem Buttons. Comrade Moore, of Fernie, B. C., also took a copy of "Capital"; and a copy of "Ancient Society," by Morgan, was sent to Los Angeles. Lorain, Ohio, bought a copy of "Woman Under Socialism."

H. Warlett, of Brooklyn, bought 1,600 leaflets and other literature to the amount of \$3.57. Comrade Frederick, of Turtle Creek, Pa., took a copy of "Woman Under Socialism."

Well, comrades, you should now decide quickly how you can best produce results with your propaganda, and get into the work without delay.

## CHICAGO S. T. &amp; L. A. DELEGATES FUND.

Previously acknowledged. . . . . \$478.54  
Section Essex County, N. J. . . . . 4.00  
Section Peoria, Ill. . . . . 6.80  
34th A. D. S. L. P., New York. . . . . 4.00  
M. Heyman, New York. . . . . .50  
W. Gilpin, Hoboken, N. J. . . . . 10.00  
L. A. 232, S. T. & L. A., Brooklyn 1.10  
35th A. D. S. L. P., New York. . . . . 1.50  
Section Boston, Mass. . . . . 1.75  
Section Lynn, Mass. . . . . 2.00  
Section Gloucester, N. Y. . . . . 3.00  
Section North Hudson. . . . . 1.00  
26th A. D., S. L. P., New York. . . . . 25  
Total. . . . . \$514.44

## PENNSYLVANIA S. L. P.

## Holds Rousing Convention at Pittsburgh on July 4

Pittsburg, Pa., July 7.—The State convention of the Socialist Labor Party was called to order at Ormond Hall, 1921 Carson street, Pittsburg, Pa., by the Secretary of the State Committee, L. Katz, on July 4. Charles Rupp was elected temporary chairman and D. E. Gilchrist and L. Katz temporary secretaries. Comrades Thomas, Markley and Drugmand were elected a committee on credentials.

On motion the convention took a recess to allow credential committee to prepare its report and during this recess short addresses were made by different comrades.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS:

The Committee on Credentials recommended that the following delegates be seated:

Section Allegheny County:—Chas. Rupp, August Clever, Amedeo Mori, E. Hildebrand, E. J. Drugmand, W. H. Thomas, D. E. Gilchrist, E. R. Markley, Fred J. Herrington, Jas. A. McConnell, Frank Webber, alternate. Section Philadelphia:—L. Katz, John Bach, delegate at large.

On motion the recommendations of the committee were approved.

## ORDER OF BUSINESS:

On motion the following order of business was adopted:—(1) Election of permanent chairman; (2) election of permanent vice-chairman; (3) election of permanent secretaries; (4) election of committee on resolutions; (5) introduction of resolutions and other matter; (6) election of committee on constitution; (7) election of committee on officers' report; (8) election of committee on ways and means; (9) officers' report; (10) report of delegates; (11) correspondence; (12) nomination of candidates; (13) reports of committees; (14) new business; (15) good and welfare; (16) adjournment.

The following officers were then elected:—Chas. Rupp, of Pittsburg, permanent chairman; W. H. Thomas, of Blythedale, Section Allegheny County, vice-chairman; D. E. Gilchrist, of Pittsburg, and L. Katz, of Philadelphia, secretaries.

## ELECTION OF COMMITTEES:

Resolutions—Thomas, Clever and Markley. Constitution—Gilchrist, Katz and Drugmand. Officers' Report—Markley, Mori and Thomas. Ways and Means—Gilchrist, Markley and Thomas. L. Katz, the State Secretary, then read a lengthy report which was, on motion, referred to the Committee on Officers' Report.

## REPORT OF DELEGATES:

E. J. Drugmand, of Branch Imperial, Section Allegheny County, made a lengthy and encouraging report. W. H. Thomas, of Branch Blythedale, Section Allegheny County, made an exhaustive report on the prospect of the sturdy branch of which he is a member. Amedeo Mori, of the above-named branch, also made a brief report on the conditions obtaining amongst the Italian workmen. E. R. Markley, of Branch Braddock, Section Allegheny County, then made a report on the activity of their branch in Braddock and vicinity. August Clever, of the above-named branch, also spoke briefly for his branch. Chas. A. Kessler made a report at the request of Delegate Hildebrand, for Branch 28, Section Allegheny County. D. E. Gilchrist, Organizer of Section Allegheny County, made a lengthy report on conditions in the Section and told what his branch (Hill Top) is trying to do in the way of attracting the young workmen and women to the Socialist movement.

At this point of the proceedings, Comrade Walter Kephart, of Branch 26, Section Allegheny County, requested the privilege of the floor, and suggested that the convention send a telegram to the Industrial Union Convention in session at Chicago.

On motion the following telegram was sent to Chicago:

"Pittsburg, Pa., July 4, 1905.  
"To the Industrial Union Convention,  
W. E. Trautmann, Secretary,  
Brand's Hall, Clark and Erie Sts.,  
Chicago, Ill.:  
"Comrades—The Socialist Labor Party of Pennsylvania in State Convention assembled at Pittsburg, in the name of the oncoming revolution, greets you.  
"Hew to the line of class conscious solidarity.  
"Make no mistake.  
"Give us a workman and working-woman's organization as harsh and radical as capitalism itself.  
"D. E. Gilchrist,  
"Secretary of Convention."  
Convention then adjourned until 2 p. m.

Called to order at 2 p. m. by Chairman Rupp.

## REPORTS OF COMMITTEES:

## RESOLUTIONS:

Whereas, Excellent opportunities have arisen in the ranks of the Italian workingmen for the propagation of the principles and tactics of the Socialist Labor women's organization as harsh and radical as capitalism itself.

"D. E. Gilchrist,  
"Secretary of Convention."

Party, by virtue of the Italian Federation discussing the advisability of joining either the Socialist Labor Party or the Socialist party; therefore, be it

Resolved, That an organizer's commission be issued to Comrade Amedeo Mori, of Branch Blythedale, Section Allegheny County, and that he be and, with the authority and consent of this convention, hereby made an organizer of the Socialist Labor Party of the State of Pennsylvania; be it further

Resolved, That this committee recommends that this convention recommends to Section Allegheny County that an organizer's commission be given to Mori by it, enabling him to work amongst the Italian workingmen as an organizer under the direction of said Section.

This resolution was adopted.

Here the order of business was interrupted by Comrade Mori rising to address the convention on the situation amongst the Italian and other workmen and women of the world. Chairman Rupp ruled Comrade Mori out of order and requested him to return to the order of the convention. Comrade Mori admitted that he was out of order, but asked permission to proceed with his remarks as they were very important. Gilchrist moved that the rules be suspended and that Comrade Mori be allowed to continue his remarks to their conclusion.

Comrade Mori then took the floor and delivered an eloquent address on conditions of the working people in the different countries of the world. When he concluded the chairman declared the rules of the convention in force again, whereupon the Committee on Constitution made the following recommendation:

## CONSTITUTION

Recommends that the State Committee be formed, in the future, on the same general plan as that of the National Executive Committee, otherwise, we continue the present State Constitution.

Committee also recommends that the time allowed the State Executive Committee for getting in a referendum on any proposition be limited to five weeks.

Both recommendations were concurred in by the convention.

## WAYS AND MEANS:

"We recommend that all comrades be furnished with subscription lists by the State Executive Committee for the purpose of collecting money to defray expense of the organization, and also that all Sections be advised to hold railroad excursions or raise money in any other way for the purpose outlined above. The Sections holding subscription lists to make returns to the State Executive Committee quarterly."

This recommendation was adopted and State Secretary ordered to prepare and send out lists.

At this point Comrade Markley laid a recommendation before the convention, signed by himself and Thomas, reading as follows:

"This committee recommends that each member of the Socialist Labor Party in Pennsylvania pay to the State Committee one-half day's pay before August 1," claiming that the sum of money thus raised would be sufficient for this coming campaign and would hurt no one comrade more than the other.

After a long discussion, pro and con, this recommendation was adopted, and the State Secretary ordered to send out this request with the subscription lists.

## COMMITTEE ON OFFICERS' REPORT:

The Committee on Officers' Report recommends that the report of State Secretary Katz be adopted by the convention, and also recommends that Comrade Barron be made organizer in the eastern part of the State and that Comrade Colburn be made organizer in the western part of the State.

Both recommendations were concurred in by the convention.

## NOMINATIONS:

The following comrades were then elected to be the candidates of the Socialist Labor Party of Pennsylvania at the coming fall election:

State Treasurer—E. J. Drugmand, Imperial, Pa.

Judge of the Supreme Court—E. R. Markley, Braddock, Pa.

Judges of the Superior Court—A. A. Grant, Scranton, Pa.; S. R. Rager, Braddock, Pa.; Herman Spittal, Erie, Pa.

The State Committee was given full power to fill vacancies should any occur from any cause whatsoever.

## ON STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

Motion that the basis of representation be one member of the State Executive Committee for every Section in the State and one member for every twenty-five additional members or majority fraction thereof. This committee to meet twice a year at the seat of the State Executive Committee, on the first Sunday in January and the first Sunday in September. During the interim the sub-committee, which will be elected by the seat of the State Committee, will meet to transact State business as often as occasion requires it to do so. Motion carried.

Motion that the State Executive Committee pay one-half of the car fare of members of the State Committee to the semi-annual meetings to be held at the seat of State Committee; carried.

Motion to reconsider former action in making members-at-large members of the State Executive Committee from their localities, and abolishing the office of member of State Committee and delegate to the State convention at large, carried.

## GOOD AND WELFARE

Comrade Katz made an address. Chairman Rupp calls Vice Chairman Thomas to the chair and makes an extended and interesting address on the duties of all militant Socialist Labor Party members. Comrade Banks, just home from first week's session of the Industrial Union Convention, reads the preamble adopted by that Convention and makes a long and exceedingly interesting report on what he saw and heard there. Banks was followed by Comrade Keenoy, who also told about what he had seen and heard at the Chicago Convention. Comrade Gilchrist made a few remarks to the comrades on what he expected the members of Section Allegheny County to do in the future. Comrade Walter Kephart made an interesting remark or two. Thomas, of Branch Blythedale, favored the Convention with a brief but very interesting talk. Comrade Markley spoke in a very happy vein on the possibilities of the future in our work in the Keystone State.

## ADJOURNMENT AMID ROUSING CHEERS.

Other comrades made short and snappy addresses, after which the Convention adjourned sine die, with three rousing cheers for the Socialist Labor Party and the new Industrial Union being built at Chicago.

L. Katz,  
D. E. Gilchrist,  
Secretaries.

## A GREAT MEETING

(Continued from page three.)

the bogus Socialists are caricatures of Capitalism. The same arguments which the capitalists use against Socialism are used by the bogus Socialists against the Industrial Union," said the speaker.

"The Socialist Labor Party has been sneered at," continued he, "but it has withstood the tempest of denunciation and the undying hatred of the fakirs. It has warded them all off; aye, it has done more, it has silenced many of them. For proof," remarked our comrade, "look at the Chicago Convention, which had its inception alone in the ranks of the workers, who had become disgusted with the disreputable methods of the labor fakirs."

Then De Leon spoke of man as a tool-less animal, and pointed out his helpless position as long as one class owned all the means of production and distribution. "This state of affairs," he said, "must be changed, but will never be changed by the methods of certain 'Socialists' who want it done little by little." De Leon said that the lion will offer just as much resistance to any attempt to pull out his hairs one by one as he will an attempt to kill him with one blow.

"Like the birth of a child the social revolution will come at once. It would be unnatural to have the legs of a child born to-day, its body to-morrow, its ears the day after to-morrow, and so on."

Comrade De Leon was frequently interrupted by applause, but otherwise his listeners paid the utmost attention to the man who has been abused and misrepresented as few men have ever been.

The last speaker was Trautmann, the fraudulently deposed editor of the Brauer Zeitung, and secretary-treasurer of "The Industrial Workers of the World."

Trautmann spoke in German. Having delivered his German speech, he was called upon to speak in English, with which he complied. Trautmann received a warm welcome when he began to speak. He is an eloquent speaker and he confined his remarks chiefly to the trades unions.

Trautmann said that the new union was a necessity. The old style trades unions in Germany have been supplanted by a labor organization with aims and objects identical with that of the Industrial Union newly founded in Chicago. Also in Switzerland, the speaker said, the trade organizations are far ahead of those in the United States. "Happily," he said, "the Industrial Union founded in Chicago shows that light is breaking."

Trautmann particularly laid stress upon the fact that the trades unions should be a training school for Socialism. He lashed Gompers, Mitchell, and the other labor misleaders, showed up their dirty work; and when Trautmann asked the audience whether it was true or not that the Brewery Workers of Milwaukee were compelled to accept less wages through the deal made by the labor leaders with the owners of the breweries—the brewery workers who were present answered with a loud "Yes, that is true!"

"The old style trades union" said Trautmann, divides the workers upon craft lines; while the new union aims at organizing all workers into one solid body."

Trautmann said that the Gompers' brand of trades unions, by organizing Tobin unions, are actually built up and kept alive in the interest of the exploiting class.

Comrade Wilke closed this very successful mass meeting with a few words. The comrades in Milwaukee ought to keep up the agitation as they have done heretofore. Open air meetings will be arranged.

All hands on deck! The battle has begun. H. B.

## VIRGINIA'S CONVENTION.

(Continued from page one.)

resulting in Comrade Muller's election, he receiving seven votes to McCulloch's four.

This practically completed the business of the convention, and after speeches from comrades from the various sections, telling of what was being done to forward the good work and with what success, the convention adjourned sine die.

Thus closed the most interesting and most representative State Convention ever held by the Socialist Labor Party in Virginia. Comrade Downey presided with ability and enabled the business to be despatched with promptness. Though differences of opinion arose at several stages during the sessions, no one lost his temper for a moment. Every one expressed satisfaction with the work accomplished and gave assurance that the cause of the Working Class would henceforth be pressed forward more earnestly than ever by the comrades throughout Virginia.

After adjournment the members of the convention became the guests of Section Richmond at the home of our good Comrades Biersch—there are two comrades in that home, husband and wife, both of whom joined Section Richmond as charter members in 1896. Here, while eatables and drinkables and smokes were dispensed, a brief season of wit and reason and good fellowship was enjoyed, until train time arrived, and the comrades reluctantly exchanged good-byes.

A word of comment on the party's candidates for public office in Virginia and I will close this report.

Comrade Downey, whom we would fain elect governor, is an M. D., but he is proletarian to the backbone. He organized Section Roanoke in 1897, and nothing that has happened in the eventful years since then has served to shake his confidence or weaken his energies in behalf of the workers. As a writer and speaker and earnest member, he is a credit to the Socialist Labor Party.

Comrade Hollins, whom we have slated for the office of lieutenant-governor, joined Section Richmond on New Year's Day of 1899. By trade he is an artist and designer for the American Tin Can Co. here. Ever since he cast his lot with the Socialist Labor Party, Comrade Hollins has been active in the movement. Between the offices he holds in Section Richmond and the State Committee he is a veritable "Poohbah." In Richmond we have no more valuable or loyal man than Comrade Hollins.

Our candidate for attorney-general of the Old Dominion is Edward Schade of Newport News. By occupation he is a machinist. He joined the party in 1897, and has never faltered for a moment in the discharge of his duties as a member and officer in the party. For years he has been the mainspring of the party organization in Newport News. Besides being Organizer of the Section there, he is Virginia's member of the National Executive Committee.

## Headquarters, Section Minneapolis S. L. P., 243 Nicollet Ave., Room 4 2nd Floor.

Reading Room Open from 9 A. M. till 9 P. M.  
All Socialist Books, Leaders and Papers Indorsed by the Party for Sale.

As a hustler for subscriptions to the party organs and literature, Comrade Schade excels, and the flourishing condition of Section Newport News is attributable in great degree to the earnest work and never-say-die perseverance of this modest and unassuming comrade.

In his description of the party's nominees in this State, the writer is not actuated by any other motive than to furnish the comrades everywhere with a correct idea as to the stamp of men the party has to carry aloft the standard of the class-conscious workers in Virginia.

Alex. B. McCulloch.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

(Continued from page 5.)

wunderfull grothe av sum av um widin the lasht twinty foive yeres? Ye cant diny that its amazin! An how did they manige to bild up sich kollosih forthins in so short a toime? Simplec be pase an harmunee wid ther wurkinmin! An im tould sum av um pays big saleresse to the min, the presedents gettin as hoie as a lundhard thousind a yeer an ovir, an isht that a gud salerec for a wurkinman! Thin the agints im tould gits from 15 to 20 pur cint salerec for gittir the bismiss, an that if they wurk har' inuff an sell plinty av poliseses they car make as much as the presedents. Ye cant diny that thats gud pay for a wurk-inman!

So ye see in manny av our big carnas id becums naysassiry be toimes to raysort to laulful manes in ordies to hould up, bud whativir they do they is egrede opow wan thing an that is: to pull tigether in ther foit aginsit ye who wud compell um to do sum ether wurk for a livin.

Wan er to more shoinin illisthray-shuns an im dun. The churchis for insthinse, evin me oon bleissid church wots the very pillir av daysint susitry, they aul had ther littel scraps an de shill. They caul ache ether voil nemes, loike the pot an the kittel, bud still they git rayspirt, an plinty doe. Bud i was tould wansht be a frind that they git the doe undhir fals pritinses, that is, they dont giv nothin in rayturn which i cant undherstand, at all a all. Thin luekid the diffirnt cur three, they ofen scrap among thimsel bud evin if they do—an this is wot in gittin at—cunthrese, churches, copiray shuns an aul hav an undherstand; bethune thimsel, an that is: that shosilism must be shlopped afore id dus ur misthiff. So, too, id semes, be the saim tokin, the shosilists, dispoit ther diffirvices, sex id shaint. Did ye ivir see sich a lack iv harmunee?

To konklude: Althoo ye sed nothir about me ether letthers, id givs me grati cumfirt to noe that me idays is foindir ther wey into so manny benited homes an im shure thayl hav the disoyred ifect opow the people in diew toime.

Yours thruly, Jerry O'toole.

## SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY ORGANS.

The following list of papers, owned and published by the Socialist Labor Party is herewith announced in response to numerous requests for information regarding the press of the Socialist Labor Party:

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